LIBRARY
OF THE
Theological Seminary.
PRINCETON, N. J.

Case Division DS48
Shelf Section .2.B92
Book v.2

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

https://archive.org/details/travelsinmesopot02buck

CHAPTER I.

CARAVAN RUSHING, BY NIGHT, TO A DEEP AND RAPID RIVER.

TRAVELS

IN

MESOPOTAMIA.

INCLUDING A

JOURNEY FROM ALEPPO TO BAGDAD,

BY THE ROUTE OF

BEER, ORFAH, DIARBEKR, MARDIN, & MOUSUL;

WITH RESEARCHES ON THE

RUINS OF NINEVEH, BABYLON,

AND OTHER ANCIENT CITIES.

BY J. S. BUCKINGHAM,

AUTHOR OF TRAVELS IN PALESTINE AND THE COUNTRIES EAST OF THE JORDAN; TRAVELS AMONG THE ARAB TRIBES; MEMBER OF THE LITERARY SOCIETIES OF BOMBAY AND MADRAS, AND OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1827.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY D. S. MAURICE, FENCHURCH STREET.

CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

Page

CHAP. I.

From the Plain of Sinjar, by Romoila, to Mousul . 1

CHAP. II.

Description of Mousul 26

CHAP. III.

Visit to the Ruins of Nineveh, and Journey from Mousul to the River Lycus 48

CHAP. IV.

From Ain Koura, by the ancient Arbela, to Kerkook 92

CHAP. V.

From Kerkook, by Kiffree, to Kara Tuppe, or the Black Hill 123

CHAP. VI.

From Kara Tuppe, by Delhi Abass, to Bagdad . 147

Page

CHAP. VII.

Description of Bagdad 175

CHAP. VIII.

Excursion to Akkerkoof 217

CHAP. IX.

Journey from Bagdad to the Ruins of Babylon . 240

CHAP. X.

Search after the Walls of Babylon . . . 296

CHAP. XI.

Visit to the Tower of Babel and Temple of Belus, or the Birs Nimrood 359

CHAP. XII.

Observations made at Bagdad 400

CHAP. XIII.

Excursion to the Ruins of Ctesiphon and Seleucia . 437

CHAP. XIV.

Further Stay at Bagdad 478

APPENDIX,

Containing a brief statement of the result of certain legal proceedings connected with the literary character of the Author 553

TRAVELS

IN

MESOPOTAMIA.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE PLAIN OF SINJAR, BY ROMOILA, TO MOUSUL.

JULY 3d.—We quitted our station on the plain, just as the moon was setting, and although we had now an additional escort of eighty well-armed and well-mounted men, our whole party did not exceed in number two hundred persons.

Soon after commencing our night-march, going in a direction of east-south-east, we passed over a deep ravine, filled with large basaltic masses, forming a vein in the earth,

like the deep and winding bed of a torrent. The rest of our way was over desert ground, though the whole tract was capable of being rendered highly fertile, being covered with a good soil, and intersected by several small rivulets of water.

It was soon after the rising of the Pleiades, or just before the first gleam of dawn appeared, that we formed our halt, at a spot called Romoila, for the sake of filling our vessels with water, as our next stage was to be a night one, through which we might not find any supply of this indispensable provision. This march was intended to be prolonged without a halt, until we should arrive on the banks of the Tigris, in order that we might thus pass over this dangerous plain of Sinjār by night, and escape the prying sight of the Yezeedis under the cover of darkness.*

* "Les Yézidis sont censés dépendre du pacha de Moussol, qui leur permet de venir acheter de temps en temps des provisions dans les villages de son département; mais ils n'en sont pas moins grands voleurs, et toujours en guerre avec les Arabes de la Mésopotamie: ils ont pour armes, le fusil à mèche, la fronde et la pique. Les caravanes souffrent beaucoup de leurs brigandages; cependant elles ne sont jamais dépouillées complètement par ces bandits, qui ont coutume de les attaquer à l'un des bouts, et n'em-

The prayers of El Fudjer, or day-break, were performed by all members of the caravan, with an unusual degree of solemnity, evidently betraying an extraordinary degree of apprehension, and proving that fear was a more powerful incentive than devotion to the exercise of this duty. Among the rest, was one individual who repeated aloud the call to prayer, in a fine voice, and after the peculiar manner of Medina, the native city of the Prophet, which differs from the common invocation, though both of them are peculiar to the Soonnee sect. This was, by some, highly admired, by others, thought an impertinent innovation, at such a place and at such a moment, and, by a third party, it was laughed at, as

portent que ce qui peut servir à leur nourriture, ou à leur habillement. Je ferai remarquer ici que les pachas de Bagdad ont essayé à différentes époques de réduire les Yézidis, en les attaquant avec des forces considérables; mais ils n'ont jamais pu en venir à bout. Ali-pacha, qui a tenté depuis peu la même enterprise, n'y a pas été plus heureux que ses prédécesseurs: on sait que son expédition contre cette race d'hommes agrestes et endurcis par les travaux, n'a abouti qu'à détruire trois ou quatre de leurs villages, et à massacrer ou emmener en esclavage quelques misérables familles, dont la conversion forcée à l'islamisme ne le dédommagera certainement pas de ses fatigues et de ses dépenses."—*Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, p. 98, 99.

highly ludicrous. There was indeed just the same diversity of opinion on the merits of this fashion, as there would be in a country village in England, on the introduction of any new mode of singing the psalms, or chanting the Litany of the Church Service.

As the Hadjee's tent was now crowded with the horsemen who formed our escort, and who, from their numbers and consequence, were here the lords paramount, every one of his usual guests was obliged to erect for himself some temporary shelter from the searching rays of the noon-day sun. There was not a breath of air stirring: the thermometer, under the shade of a double cloak spread over-head, stood at 118°, an hour before noon, and at two o'clock was 126°, while the parched state of the country, the dead calm, and the glare reflected from the desert plain, made our situation more oppressive to the feelings than any description can convey an accurate idea of. At the same moment, while thus fainting under so exhausting an atmosphere, we had in view before us, to the north-east, the lofty mountains of Koordistan, covered with snow, the very contrast of which served to increase our desire after a colder region, and to render

us more impatient under our suffering in the present.

Our course through the preceding night had been from one to two points southward of east, and the extent of our journey not more than ten miles, in four hours of march, from the last stage of our encampment at Chehel Aga, to the place of our present halt, at Romoila. It was at about an equal distance from both of these, or near the centre of our route, that we passed a stream called Dama Kaupy. The town of Jezeereh was spoken of as being about the same distance from hence, in a direction of north-north-east, as Nisibeen is in a direction of west-north-west. In describing its size, when in the height of its splendour, the people of the country say, that it had three hundred and sixty-six mosques, or as many as there are days in the year, which is not, however, to be taken literally, meaning merely an indefinitely great number. The buildings in this town, like those of Diarbekr, are all constructed of black basalt, which gives it the same dark appearance, and has obtained for it among the Turks the same characteristic appellation of Kara, or black. It is said to be, even in its present

ruined state, as large as Orfah; but all acknowledge that it is not so agreeable, or so well-built a city. The supplies of gall-nuts, which are brought to it from the mountains of Koordistan, and exported from thence to Aleppo, are the chief source of wealth and occupation to the inhabitants, who are principally Koords, with a small proportion of Arabs and Turks.

This town does not boast a very high antiquity. Its name is purely Arabic, signifying an island; and though now applied particularly to the town, was anciently the general name of all Mesopotamia, or the whole space between the Tigris and Euphrates.* Benjamin of Tudela describes the Jezeereh of the present day, under the name of "Gezir ben Ghamar," which he places at "two days' journey from Netsibin." He says, it was "surrounded by the Tigris," from which feature it probably derived its name; "and was seated at the foot of Mount Taurus," as he calls the mountains of Koordistan, "at the distance of four miles from the spot where the Ark of Noah reposed." This town was then the metropolis of all Mesopotamia, and contained, according to the Rabbi's report, about four

* Bibliothèque Orientale, vol. ii. p. 111.

thousand Jews. The population is greatly lessened since then, and the town declined in consequence; but the local features, both of the site of the city, and the place of the mountain, on which the Ark of Noah is believed to have rested, still remain unchanged.

Having filled our water from the small stream at Romoila, and made such other arrangements as were deemed necessary for our next long march, we began, after the public prayers of noon, in which all joined, to load our camels, and quitted our encampment at one o'clock. We now went to the south-east, over the plain, observing nothing peculiar in the way, except three small eminences, which we passed at equal intervals between noon and sun-set, the hills being called respectively Tal Fraat, Tal Howa, and Tal Moos, each serving as landmarks for our course, and elevated points of observation, like many others of a similar kind, scattered over the face of these desert wastes.

No halt was made at evening, but we continued our march through the night, having, in the former part of it, a bright moon to light our path. It was on the afternoon of this day that we had first noticed the Seraub

or Mirage of the Desert; and it was on this same night that we experienced the first fall of dew since our entering Mesopotamia.

It was near midnight when we reached a marshy ground, in which a clear stream was flowing along, through beds of tall and thick rushes, but so hidden by these, that the noise of its flow was heard long before the stream itself could be seen. From the length of the march, and the exhausting heat of the atmosphere, even at night, the horses were exceedingly thirsty. Their impatient restlessness, evinced by their tramping, neighing, and eager impatience to rush all to one particular point, gave us, indeed, the first indications of our approach to water, which was perceptible to their stronger scent long before it was even heard by us. On reaching the brink of this stream, for which purpose we had been forcibly turned aside, by the ungovernable fury of the animals, to the southward of our route, the banks were found to be so high above the surface of the water, that the horses could not reach it to drink. Some, more impatient than the rest, plunged themselves and their riders at once into the current, and, after being led swimming to a less elevated part of

the bank, over which they could mount, were extricated with considerable difficulty; while two of the horses of the caravan, who were more heavily laden than the others, by carrying the baggage as well as the persons of their riders, were drowned. The stream was narrow, but deep, and had a soft muddy bottom, in which another of the horses became so fastly stuck, that he was suffocated in a few minutes. The camels marched patiently along the edge of the bank, as well as those persons of the caravan who were provided with skins and other vessels containing small supplies of water; but the horses could not, by all the power of their riders, be kept from the stream, any more than the crowd of thirsty pilgrims, who, many of them having no small vessels to dip up the water from the brook, followed the example of the impatient horses, and plunged at once into the current. For myself, I experienced more difficulty than I can well describe, in keeping my own horse from breaking down the loose earth of the bank on which he stood, and plunging in with the others; it being as much as all my strength of arm could accomplish to keep him back from the brink, while he tramped, and snorted, and

neighed, and reared himself erect on his hinder legs, to express the intensity of his suffering from thirst. An Indian fakīr, who was of the Hadjee's party, being near me at this moment of my difficulty, and when I was deliberating in my mind whether I should not risk less in throwing myself off my horse and letting him follow the bent of his desires, as I began to despair of mastering him much longer, took from me my tin drinking-cup, which was a kind of circular and shallow bason, capable of holding only about a pint; this having two small holes in the sides for the purpose of slinging it over the shoulder on the march, longer pieces of cord were fastened to the short ones before affixed to it, and having now dismounted, by letting go the bridle, and sliding back over the haunches of the horse while he was in one of his erect positions from rearing, we succeeded in coaxing him into a momentary tranquillity by the caresses and tender expressions which all Arab horses understand so well; and with this shallow bason, thus slung in cords, we drew up from the stream as much as the vessel would hold, and in as quick succession as practicable. But even when full, the cup would hardly contain

sufficient to moisten the horse's mouth; and as, at some times, it came up only half full, and at others was entirely emptied by the impatience of the horse knocking it out of the giver's hand, we let it down and drew it up, I am certain, more than a hundred times, till our arms were tired: and even then we had but barely satisfied our own thirst, and done nothing, comparatively, to allay that of the poor animal, whose sufferings, in common with nearly all the others of the caravan, were really painful to witness. This scene, which, amidst the obscurity of the night, the cries of the animals, the shouting and quarrelling of the people, and the indistinct and perhaps exaggerated apprehensions of danger, from a totally unexpected cause, had assumed an almost awful character, lasted for upwards of an hour: and so intense was the first impulse of self-preservation, to allay the burning rage of thirst, that, during all this time, the Yezeedis were entirely forgotten, and as absent from our thoughts as if they had never once been even heard of.

July 6th.—Order being at length restored, after a detention of nearly two hours since

our first reaching the stream, we again set out from hence, and proceeded in a direction of south-east over a desert and uncultivated plain until sun-rise, when we reached another stream of clear water, running, like the one last described, in a deep bed lined with tall rushes, and, like that water also, of a bitter mineral taste. This, however, was so welcome a refreshment, that, as the daylight enabled us to find parts of the stream accessible to all, we halted here for an hour; some to drink and smoke their morning pipes, others to perform their ablutions and their prayers, and myself to bathe completely from head to foot in the stream, and to refresh my poor horse, for whom my sympathies had been strongly excited, and my affections strengthened, by our joint participations in a common suffering and common danger.

As we had now passed the plain and mountain of Sinjār, and were supposed to be beyond all danger from that quarter, our look-outs were called in, many fire-arms were discharged in triumph, and every one seemed to feel at liberty to follow the bent of his own inclinations. Accordingly, those who were the best mounted of the caravan pushed on, leaving the

camels and other laden animals to follow after us.

We went from hence over a succession of small hills, the basis of which seemed to be a white and clouded marble,* and about noon we reached the Tigris. Here we halted, at the tent of a sheikh, whose tribe formed a small encampment on its banks, near to a poor village, and just above the ruins which they call Eski Mousul, or Old Mousul. The sheikh himself, who was of a mixed descent, between the Koord and Arab race, was like an Indian in feature and complexion, and there was an effeminacy about his dress, in his muslin robes, gold ear-rings, and feathered fans, which considerably strengthened the resemblance. The other individuals of the tribe, over which he presided, had, however, nothing of this appearance; though all of them were much darker than any people I had seen since leaving the valley of the Jordan.†

* D'Olivier calls the materials of these hills, "gypse gris, et très-beau gypse blanc, semblable à du marbre."—vol. iv. p. 264. Niebuhr, however, calls it marble.

† The first approach to the Tigris is thus described by Otter, who appears to have come upon its banks nearly on the same spot with ourselves; this being the ordinary

The stream of the Tigris was here narrower than any part of the Thames from the Nore to London, and its current, which was disturbed and muddy, did not flow at a greater rate than three miles per hour, though the Tigris has been celebrated for the rapidity of its current, and is even said to have had its Greek name from an arrow, to express its speed.*

Exhausted as we all were after our long night's march, many of our party fell asleep before the meal of hospitality was set before them; and even those who staid awake to

route of the caravans:—"Nous campames ce jour 10 d'Avril, sur les bords du Tigre, à une petite distance d'Eski Mosul, c'est à dire, le vieux Mosul, que les gens du pays appellent Ninevi. La vûe de ce fleuve, dont l'eau est excellente, nous fit oublier les desagrémens du désert que nous venions de passer, et nous ne fumes sensible qu'au plaisir de soulager notre soif. Les Orientaux appellent le Tigre Didgelè; il prend sa source au Nord de Diarbekr, auprès d'un vieux fort ruiné, où il sort d'une caverne avec un grand bruit; dans son cours jusqu'à Diarbekr il est augmenté par plusieurs rivières."—*Otter*, tome i. p. 126.

* See the Note from Dr. Vincent's "Commerce of the Ancients," on the Euphrates and Tigris, at p. 29. Josephus also says, in enumerating the rivers of Paradise, "By Tigris or Diglath is signified, what is swift, with narrowness."—*Ant. Jud.* b. i. c. 1. s. 3.

partake of it, did so with a languor and drowsiness which shewed they needed rest more than food. When the meal was finished, the Tartars, or Turkish messengers, prepared to mount and continue their journey alone, or unconnected with others, as the great danger apprehended from the Yezeedis was now past; but the caravan made its halt on the banks of the Tigris, and the chief camel-drivers intended not to resume their march until to-morrow. As it was of importance to me to accompany these Tartars, that I might secure my journey with them from Mousul to Bagdad, I took leave of the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, and his nephew, Hadjee Abd-el-Ateef; and although I was now so sore in every limb as to feel nearly dislocated, and my poor horse was jaded and weary almost to death, I mounted with theTartars, who had here procured for themselves fresh horses from the sheikh, and making a great effort to accomplish my purpose, we galloped off from the camp together.

After passing over some hilly land, and seeing a few small villages in the way, we cut off an angle made by a bend of the Tigris, to the eastward, and, in an hour after setting out,

came again on its banks. We were here regaled with the most delightful odours, which filled the air, and were produced by some wild aromatic plants among the heath or brushwood that bordered the stream.* We noticed in our way the remains of a large Roman arch, apparently the portion of an ancient building; but travelling express with Turkish couriers admits of no minute observations being made.

In going along the western bank of the Tigris, we passed over hilly land, and often travelled on the sides and at the foot of these hills, keeping still close by the stream, and directing our course nearly south. It was here that we passed some inconsiderable ruins, like those of a common town, but possessing no vestiges of former consequence. This was called Eski Mousul, or Old Mousul; and according to the report of my companions, borrowed from the traditions of the country, was said to be the site of the ancient Nineveh. This, however, was evidently erroneous; as Nineveh was on the eastern bank of the Tigris,

* See the Note from Xenophon, who, in the Anabasis, remarked this peculiarity of the heaths and brush-wood of Mesopotamia in his day.—p. 249.

and had no part of it on the west; while, here, all the ruins that are seen are all on the hilly ground of the western bank, and the eastern one presents nothing but flat cultivated land, covered with Koord villages; besides which, the few ruins that exist, even on this side, are evidently of a very modern date.*

* The following are the observations made by Otter on this subject:—"On ne voit à Eski Mosul, que des tas de pierres, et dans la plaine, à quelque distance des ruines, une arc qui paroît avoir été le frontispice d'un Temple ou d'un grand palais. Les gens du pays disent que Nineveh avoit soixante milles de circonference, et qu'elle fut bâtie l'an 1073 après le déluge, par Ninus fils de Balos, (Belus.) Ils montrent dans son voisinage le lieu qu'habitoit le Prophète Jonas, en l'honneur de qui ils ont bâti une chapelle, qu'ils visitent avec devotion. Ebul-Feda dit que Nineveh étoit du côté oriental du Tigre, à l'opposite de Mosul, et il entend par Mosul, celle qui existe aujourd'hui. Il faut qu'il soit trompé, ou que les habitans du pays soient dans une grande erreur; car ceux-ci placent Nineveh sur la rive occidentale du Tigre, à l'endroit qu'ils appellent Eski Mosul, ainsi quand même on voudroit concilier les deux opinions en supposant que Nineveh étoit bâtie sur les deux bords du Tigre, on n'avanceroit rien, puisqu' Eski Mosul est à sept au huit lieues plus haut, en remontant le Tigre. Une chose paroît favoriser le sentiment d'Ebul-Feda; c'est qu'il y a, à l'est de Mosul, un endroit appellé Telli-Toubè, c'est à dire, la colline de la penitence, où l'on dit que les Ninevites firent penitence, pour détourner la colère de Dieu."—Otter, t. i. pp. 132—134.

It was on the west of the Tigris that we ascended over hills, leaving the banks of the river far on our left; in doing which we passed two or three small villages, each formed of about a dozen sheds of loose stones thatched over with mud, and having an appearance of great poverty. We continued now to leave the river still farther on our left, to the eastward, over hilly and uneven land, yet constantly descending towards a lower level. We passed several small villages in the way, of which I could learn nothing but that they were inhabited by Koords; and just before sun-set we reached the large village of Hamadān, where we halted to sup, and to take an hour's repose.

The habitations of the people were here equally as mean as those of the villages through which we had passed before. The occupiers of these last resembled very strongly the African Arabs, or Moors, and also the mixed race of Egypt, in their physiognomy, complexion, and dress. The reception given by those villagers to my Tartar companions was like that of the most abject slaves to a powerful master; and the manner in which these yellow-crowned couriers of the Sublime Porte treated their

entertainers in return, was quite as much in the spirit of the despotic Sultan whom they served.

JULY 5th.—After a hearty meal, and an hour or two of sleep, the Tartars mounted fresh horses here, and I remounted my own, whose spirit and energies had held out beyond all our expectations, and made his value greater and greater in my eyes; when we set out together after midnight from Hamadān, just as the moon was setting. Our course was directed generally to the south-east, as it had constantly been since leaving the banks of the river on the preceding day, the stream itself going more easterly as it approaches Mousul. Throughout the whole of the night we rode over hilly ground, and still constantly descended towards a lower level, without passing any villages in our way.

It was just as the dawn opened that we reached the gates of Mousul, having scarcely seen it at the distance of a hundred yards on our approach. As I had pictured to myself something of magnificence in the first external appearance of Mousul, from remembering the report of some travellers to that

effect,* I was disappointed in finding nothing, in the first prospect of the city, that could deserve admiration, although we had reached it through a succession of miserable villages and barren plains, by the contrast of which its beauties would have been much increased.

On entering the town, the interior seemed equally devoid of interest; and on the whole it struck me as being the worst-built, and altogether the least interesting city, especially considering its large size, that I had yet seen in the East.

The Tartars proceeded to the palace of the Pasha, attached to which is the station of the couriers; and I repaired to the house of the chief Christian merchant here, who was also one of the secretaries to the Government. Having brought with me a letter from the Syrian Patriarch of Mardin, I found a welcome reception, and was furnished with a room for my accommodation.

As soon as the ceremony of receiving the visits of the family was over, and I had partaken of the breakfast which was set before

* Campbell, in his Journey over land to India; and others.

me, a servant was sent to accompany me wherever I wished through the town, and we repaired together to the bath, the most agreeable of all modes of refreshment after excessive fatigue.

On leaving the bath, I found attendants in waiting ready to conduct me to the Pasha, who had already heard, through his secretary, that an English traveller had arrived here, and had sent his guards to conduct me to his divan. I followed them to the palace, which was close by, and was immediately ushered into the Pasha's presence. I found him to be a particularly handsome man, of about thirty years of age, habited in all the splendour of the Turkish costume, and surrounded by all the pomp and state of which their manners are capable. He sat alone, on a rich sofa, in a corner of the room, near to an open window, which commanded an agreeable prospect. Around the rest of the hall stood upwards of fifty Georgian and Circassian slaves, forming his body-guard of Mamlouks, most of them extremely handsome, and all of them young and superbly dressed, awaiting, in the most profound silence, and in respectful attitudes, the commands of their lord.

My reception was at once polite, gracious, and even kind. This young man, whose name was Hamed, was a descendant of a Turkish house, in whose family the Pashalic of Mousul had remained for many generations; and his character, according to the report of those over whom he ruled, and his manners, such as I myself beheld them, bespoke in the strongest manner the feelings and notions of a kind-hearted and benevolent man. In our conversation on the state of affairs in Europe, he displayed much more intelligence regarding that quarter of the world than I had been accustomed to witness in similar personages; and in making my inquiries of him regarding the countries eastward of us, to which my views were directed, I found him capable of giving me much valuable information.

Our interview closed by his offering me his protection and assistance, in any thing that I might wish to undertake. When I spoke of my proceeding to Bagdad, he advised my going with the couriers by land, if expedition was my object; but on rafts, by the Tigris, if comfort was my study. In either case, he again assured me of his readiness to forward my views; and desiring only to know my

wishes, pledged himself for their prompt execution.

I confess, that a fear of the expenses in necessary presents to the inferior agents, was the only motive which induced me to decline the aid so promptly and apparently so cordially offered; but this I knew would be greater than that of continuing my journey with the Tartars from Diarbekr, and the state of my finances at the present moment, after the fleecings which we had all undergone in our passage through Mesopotamia, was such as to make this consideration paramount.

When I took leave of the Pasha, which we all did, retiring backward, with our faces still towards him, which is the etiquette of the country, before great men, two of his cawasses, or silver-stick bearers, were ordered to attend me in my excursions through the town; and, under their guidance, I devoted the remaining portion of the day to that purpose, in the course of which, as we were all mounted on fine horses of the Pasha's own stud, we went over every part of it that was deemed worthy of a visit.*

* Although manners do not change much in the East, the personal characters of individuals who happen to be in

On our return, in the evening, I was conducted by the cawasses to my own lodgings, where a large party of the different sects of

power make great alterations in the modes of reception, and the nature of the treatment experienced by travellers, at different periods of visiting the same places. The following is the account of Rauwolff's visit to and reception by a Turkish Pasha, two hundred and fifty years ago:—"When we came into the room of the Bashaw, which was but very ordinary, yet spread with delicate tapestry, and well adorned, and appeared with accustomed reverences, he asked us, sitting in his costly yellow-coloured long gown, by one of his servants, in French, which he did not understand very well, from what place we came, what merchandizes we had brought with us, and whither we intended to go. After we had punctually answered him to each question, yet he was not satisfied, but bid us to withdraw, and stay until we heard his answer. We understood his meaning very well, that it was only to screw a present out of us, yet we would not understand it, but shewed him our pass, subscribed both by the Bashaw and the Cadi of Aleppo, to try whether that would give him content. So he took it and read it over, and looked very diligently upon their seals, as they use to seal, after they had dipped it first into ink, so that all but the letter is black. When he found them right, and did not know any more to say to us, he let us go; then we made him his reverence again, and so we went backwards out of his lodgings, for if you turn your back to any one, although it be a far meaner person, they take it as a great incivility, rudeness, and disparagement."—p. 144.

Christians, residing here, was assembled to greet me with welcome. These were chiefly mercantile men, and most of them had travelled over a large portion of the Turkish empire. They were generally, as I thought, much more liberal in their sentiments, and more forbearing towards each other, than the Christians of the East usually are. So that our party, though composed of many different sectaries, was nevertheless a happy and an harmonious one. Our evening feast was crowned by the copious draughts of ardent spirits, without which no Christian meeting in these countries would be considered an orthodox one; and before midnight many had measured their lengths on the floor where they sat, and few were able to find their way home to their own dwellings.

CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION OF MOUSUL.

July 6th.—The departure of the Tartars for Bagdad being fixed for to-morrow, I had another day of leisure to complete my examination of the town, and having directed the Pasha's cawasses to attend me early in the morning with three fresh horses, we mounted together at daylight, and resumed our task. In the course of our way, protected as I was by these officers on each side, every mark of civility and respect was shewn to me wherever I went, and all my inquiries were very readily answered.

It was about noon when we returned from this second excursion, and after partaking of the refreshments prepared for our party, the greater number of them retired to repose. I, therefore, profited by the retirement and lei-

CHAPTER II.

PERSPECTIVE OF A VAULTED BAZAR AT MOUSUL.

sure which their withdrawal afforded me, to embody such observations as I had been able to collect regarding Mousul, as well from information previously collected, as from my own personal observation, and the communications of residents on the spot.

This city is seated on the western bank of the Tigris, and in a low and flat country, extending for several miles around it. The plan of it, as given by Mr. Niebuhr, appeared to me to be in general accurate, though my own observations enabled me only to judge of the fidelity of the outline, without being qualified to pronounce on its details. On entering the town from the north-west, there are appearances of its having been once surrounded by a ditch, which is now filled up. The wall itself is in a ruinous state, and would certainly offer but a slight obstacle to a besieging army provided with artillery, though it is here considered a sufficient barrier to keep out all the enemies that are ever likely to appear before it.

The general aspect of the town is mean and uninteresting: the streets are narrow and unpaved, the lines of their direction irregular, and, with one exception only, there are nei-

ther fine bazārs, mosques, or palaces, such as one might expect in a city of this size, to relieve occasionally the dull sameness of the common buildings. The houses are mostly constructed of small unhewn stones, cemented by mortar and plastered over with mud, though some are built of burnt and unburnt bricks. One of their most striking peculiarities is, that they are built on the inclined slope, common to ancient Egyptian temples, and that the angles presented towards the streets are almost always rounded off, as is seen in the improved openings at the corners of narrow streets in London. From the great scarcity and consequent high price of timber, very little of this material is used in their buildings; so that most of them, instead of beams, have vaulted ceilings with rooms above, and vaulted roofs to support their flat terraces. Most of the entrance-doors also, which are in many cases the only apertures presented to the street, as the windows open on square courts within, are crowned by an arch cut out of a block of veined marble from the neighbouring hills. The form of the arch is, in some cases, the high pointed Gothic, in others the flatter Norman, but in very few

indeed is the proportion of the Saracen arch seen, the two others being more in fashion. In some cases, these blocks of marble are ornamented with sculptured designs of flowers, but they are always very clumsily done. Among the devices which I observed on the architraves of these door-ways, was a frequently repeated one of a pillar with something like rams' horns on the top, and another of two triangles interlaced with a star in the middle, like one of the emblems worn by freemasons in Europe. Some of the poorer houses, occupied by the weavers of cotton cloth, are half subterranean, and the lower part being the coolest in the day-time, it is used for their looms, while they sleep on their terraces at night. Many of these terraces are walled around, to seclude those who may resort there from general view; and some of them have windows formed of hollow earthen pots, and loop-holes for musketry in the walls, as if to provide for defence.

The bazārs, though not so fine as those of Cairo, with one exception only, are numerous, and well supplied, from the adjoining country of Koordistan, with an abundance of all the necessaries of life; but these places of public

resort are as frequently open as roofed over, are generally dirty, and not remarkable for the symmetry and order which is commonly seen in this department of Eastern towns. There is only one bazār, where the richest merchandize is sold, that is much better in its structure and design; and this is at all times well filled with a great variety of the richest commodities, the produce of Europe and of India.

The coffee-houses are numerous, and in general very large; some of them, indeed, occupy the whole length of an avenue, extending for a hundred yards, with benches on each side of the passage, which is shaded by a roof of matting above.

The baths are estimated to be about thirty in number; but although I was conducted to some of the principal ones, I saw none that could be compared to those of Cairo, Damascus, or Aleppo, either in appearance or comfort. The mode of bathing seemed to be exactly the same, but the details were not so carefully attended to, either by the master or the servants of the bath, as in those of the large cities of Egypt and Syria.

The mosques are computed to amount to

fifty in number, thirty of which are small and ordinary, and twenty large. The principal one of these has a minaret, equal in size to any that I remember to have seen. It is built of brick; and being of a circular form above, with a square base below, it rises like the shaft of an enormous column from its pedestal. The whole of its exterior is covered with a fancy-work of Arabesque, wrought by the projecting and receding of the bricks in the masonry itself, which produces a great richness of effect. The mosque, from which this minaret rises, was originally large and handsome, but it is now completely in ruins. The traditions of the place assign a very high antiquity to the lower part of the building, making it anterior to Mohammed; but it seems certain that the minaret, which is by far the finest in the city, was erected by Nour-el-Deen, the Sultan of Damascus. Near to this large mosque is a smaller one, of the form of an octagonal pyramid. This is built of brick, and is said to be even still more ancient than the other, which, from its singular form, is not improbable. There are other minarets of brick-work, ornamented with green-varnished tiles in fanciful devices, and layers of different colours: but

none of them are remarkable for their size or beauty. Among the few domes that are seen, some are guttered or ribbed, like those described at Mardin; but instead of the gutters being serpentine, they are straight, descending in right lines from the summit to the edge of the roof.

The Christian churches amount to fourteen, of which there are five of one sect of Chaldeans, and four of another; three of Syrians; one of Yacoubites, (as they are here called;) and one of Roman Catholics, in the following order.

Chaldeans, 1st.—Muskinta, Shumraoon el Suffa, Mugwergees, Mar Bethewn, Miriam el Athra. Chaldeans, 2nd.—Mar Eeesiah, Mar Kreeakoos, Mar Johanna, Mar Georgis. Syrians.—Taharat el Fokāney, Taharat el Hedjereen, Mar Toma. Yacoubites.—Mar Hewdaini.—Roman Catholics, Miriam el Athra.*

* In the time of Rauwolff, the Nestorians seem to have been the most numerous. He says, "The town Mossel is, as above-said, for the greatest part inhabited by Nestorians, which pretend to be Christians, but in reality they are worse than any other nations whatsoever, for they do almost nothing else but rob on the highways, and fall upon travellers, and kill them; therefore being that the roads chiefly to Zibin (to which we had five days' journey, and,

I had an opportunity of seeing a drawing of the interior of this Chaldean church of the Virgin Mary, at Mousul, which was taken by Mr. Rich, the British resident at Bagdad, during a visit he made to this city. It is esteemed as one of the earliest Christian places of worship now existing here, and is said to be built on the same model as the ruined church of St. James, at Nisibeen. The arches of the aisles are of the regular pointed Saracenic form; the smaller arches are, however, flatter, and of the Saxon shape, while the broad frieze around the nave is formed of the Arabic and Turkish dropping ornament, like a stalactite. The smaller ornaments, though generally regular in their outline, are not uniform in their details. The flattened and indented arch, as seen in the mosque of Ibrahim-el-Khaleel, at Orfah, is also found here, and Arabesque ornaments are frequent, while around the whole of the church the inscriptions are in the old Syriac character; so that in this, which is thought to be one of the oldest buildings in this part of the country, there is such a mix-

for the most part, through sandy wildernesses) are very dangerous, we staid some days longer, expecting more company, that we might go the surer."—p. 167.

ture of styles and orders, that it darkens rather than throws light on the long-agitated question of whether the Gothic architecture originated in the East or the West.

Of the particular differences of faith between these sects, I could learn nothing satisfactory. The children seemed to follow implicitly the footsteps of their fathers, and no one troubled himself about the faith of his neighbour, being content with believing that there was an irreconcilable difference between it and his own, and never attempting to accommodate or unite them.

The population of Mousul is thought, by the people of the place, to exceed a hundred thousand; but I should think, from the loose estimate I was enabled to make, by comparison of different data, that it was even less than half that number.

The principal portion of this is Mohammedan, in about equal proportions of Arabs, Turks, and Koords. There are also about three hundred Jewish families, who have a synagogue for their worship. The Christians are thus estimated in relative numbers: of the Chaldeans of both descriptions, one of which differs but little from the Catholics,

there are thought to be a thousand families; of the Syrians, five hundred; and of the Jacobites, or Yakoubi, as they are here called, about three hundred.

The government of Mousul is in the hands of a Pasha of two tails, who has a territory extending a few miles only from the town; but as he receives his investiture of office immediately from the Sultan, at Constantinople, he is thus independent of the Pashas of Aleppo, Orfah, and Bagdad. The present Pasha, whose name is Hamed, is highly popular, esteemed by all classes, and thought, even by those over whom he governs, to be a very indulgent master.

The military force maintained for the defence of the town and its neighbourhood does not exceed a thousand men, and these are chiefly cavalry. There are frequently half that number in attendance at the palace, or residence, of the Pasha, which is a meanly-built but extensive pile, being almost as spacious, including its courts and offices, as some small villages. The gay parade, which is sometimes seen here, of beautiful Arabian horses, richly caparisoned in velvet and gold, mounted by Turkish riders, habited in flow-

ing robes of coloured shalloons, with costly arms, Indian shawls, and other marks of pomp and wealth, offers a striking contrast to the poverty of the buildings in general, and the rude and mean exterior of the imperial palace in particular.

The fortifications toward the land-side consist only of an enclosing wall, without cannon; and toward the river the city is defended by a castle. This is a small and now ruined building, seated on an artificial island, formed by letting in the waters of the Tigris, on the banks of which it stands, to fill a deep ditch by which it is surrounded. It lies near the bridge of boats by which the river itself is crossed. The building is of triangular form, and constructed of bricks, having only a few small dwellings for the soldiers who garrison it. Near the castle there are several brass cannon lying scattered about, dismounted and unserviceable. On one of these I noticed two European coats of arms, one of which was a cross, occupying all the shield; the other was quartered, with a cross in the upper sinister and lower dexter compartment, and in the two corresponding ones an arm extended, with the hand open, and a scarf, or broad band, filled

with crosses, hanging over the wrist. The date on it was 1526, but through what channel it had reached this place I could not learn.

The trade of Mousul, which was once so considerable, is now reduced to a very low state. There are still some merchants, who go from hence to Aleppo, with the galls of Koordistan, and the few Indian commodities which reach them from Bussorah, to exchange in Syria for European manufactures. The Indian goods are also forwarded to Tocat, and the higher parts of Asia Minor, from whence copper is received in return, and sent down to Bagdad. The only manufacture now carried on to any extent within the town is that of coarse cotton cloths, which are dyed blue, and used for the clothing of the lower classes.

In the people of Mousul I thought I could observe a cast of countenance, sufficiently peculiar to mark them as a race nearly allied to, and long settled and intermixed with each other. The shape of the face is rounder than that of either Arabs or Turks, and the hair is universally black, and the eyes small, sharp, and penetrating, while the complexions are like those of the south of Spain. The young boys generally wear one ear-ring of gold, and

the girls an ornament like a button, with a small turquoise stone set in it, pierced through one nostril. The men dress mostly after the Turkish mode, except that they wear turbans and overhanging tarbooshes, like the people of Syria, instead of the Turkish kaook; and fine Angora shalloon instead of cloth, for benishes. The women wear the blue checkered envelope common to Egypt and Syria, and have a stiff veil of horse-hair cloth, which is black, and covers the whole face, so that they look as uninteresting as can be conceived. The straw-mat fans, like little square flags on handles, which are used on the Abyssinian and Arabian shores of the Red Sea, are seen in the hands of all classes; but the more gay use a triangular fan of feathers, which has a small looking-glass in the centre of its inner face, and is suspended from the arm by a ribbon.

The Arabic spoken at Mousul differs considerably from that of Cairo, and even from that of Aleppo. There is a mixture of Turkish, Persian, and Indian words in it; and both the manners of the people, and many other appearances that I noticed, already apprized me of my approach toward the latter country.

Of the history of Mousul but few particulars are known. It is unquestionably, however, a place of some antiquity, and has once enjoyed a much higher degree of splendour than it at present possesses. It is thought, by Gibbon, to have been the western suburb of Ninus, the city which succeeded Nineveh; and the erudition and critical discernment of that historian, on all points of ancient geography, are such as to make his authority almost conclusive. It was known, however, by its present name of Mousul, under the Khalifs, and as such is mentioned in the Bibliothèque Orientale of D'Herbelot.

The celebrated Rabbi, Benjamin of Tudela, who commenced his travels in the East in the year 1173 of the Christian era, visited this place in his way to India. He calls it "Mutsul," and places it at two days' distance from the town of Gezireh, and, like it, on the western bank of the Tigris. He says, that it was anciently called "the Great Assar," which was no doubt the tradition prevalent among the people there.* There were then, at this

* Asher was the name of him who went out of the land of Shinar, and built Nineveh, and Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen.—Genesis, c. x. v. 11.

place, seven thousand Jews, who were governed by two chiefs, one of whom was Zacchee, a prince of the blood of David, the King of Israel; and the other was Joseph the astrologer, who, like his ancestor Daniel, was counsellor to the king. This king was then Zain-el-Deen, the brother of Nour-el-Deen, the reigning King of Damascus.

Mousul then commanded the kingdom of Persia, and preserved all its ancient grandeur. Nineveh is spoken of, by the Rabbi, as seated on the opposite bank of the river, and then completely in ruins.

Mousul was sufficiently strong to withstand a siege from the famous Salah-el-Deen, (Saladin,) in the year of the Hejira 578. This warrior was himself a native of the neighbouring hills of Koordistan, being the nephew of a celebrated Koordish chief, called Assudeen-Sheer-koh, or Lion of the Mountain, who was obliged to fly his country for having killed a man of high family, who had insulted an unprotected female.*

* "Sallah-u-deen, so famous in the crusades, was nephew of a Koord chief, called Assudeen Sheerkoh, or, Lion of the Mountain, who was obliged to fly his country, for having killed a man of high family, who had insulted an

This city suffered again when Bagdad was taken by the Tartars under Jenghiz Khan, in the year of the Hejira 654, or A. D. 1256,* when it is said that between seven and eight hundred thousand persons were put to death, and that the stream of the Tigris was swollen with waves of blood. It was again nearly ruined by Timur, or Tamerlane, in his invasion of the country, in the year of the Hejira 796; so that, after such successive devastations, the wonder is, that it still retains so much of its former importance as it really does.

The celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, passed through Mousul, and reports

unprotected female. His uncle and his brothers, who accompanied him, found refuge at the court of Nour-a-deen Mahmood, the ruler of Baalbeck, and was afterwards sent by him in command of a force, to aid the Waly, or Governor of Egypt, against the Infidels of the West. The young Sallah-u-deen accompanied his uncle, and succeeded him in the office of Vizier, or Waly, and, on the death of the chief himself, he assumed the government of Egypt, which, with all Syria, soon submitted to his command, and he thenceforward became the successful champion of religion, in the celebrated Frank crusades."—*Malcolm's History of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 380.

* Ibid, p. 422.

that, in his time, they made their precious stuffs of gold and silk. At that period, he remarked that in the mountains dependent on this kingdom were certain men, called Cardis, or Curds, of whom some were Nestorians, others Jacobins, and others Mohammedans, who were great robbers.* It is from this traveller's report, that fine cottons are supposed to derive the name of muslins, from Mousul, a name which they had in common with gold tissue and silk, because those articles were either made or to be purchased there.†

The last notice of Mousul, in an historical point of view, is its having, in 1743, sustained a bombardment, during forty days, from the celebrated Persian conqueror, Nadir Shah, who was obliged to abandon the siege, in order to return into Persia to quell a rebellion there. Since that period it has received no great shock, though it may be said to have been

* See Bergeron's Collection of Early Voyages and Travels, in French, printed at the Hague, by Jeane Neaulme, in 1735, 4to. pp. 13, 14.

† "Tutti le pani d'oro e di seta chi si chiamana Mossoulini, si lavorano in Moxul."—*Marco Paolo*, lib. i. cap. 6, as quoted by Dr. Vincent, in his Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, vol. ii. p. 273. 4to.

progressively, and still continues to be, on the decline.*

In the evening, the caravan which I accompanied from Aleppo made its entry into Mou-

* The following descriptions of Mousul, from two travellers, between the age of Benjamin of Tudela, and that of Nadir Shah, may be given here:

Le Sieur Boullaye-le-Gouz, a gentleman of Angers, who had travelled over the greater part of the world in the beginning of the seventeenth century, speaks thus of Mousul, which he takes to be the same with Nineveh—

"Elle est assise à trente-six degrez de la latitude sur le bord du Tigre du costé de l'ouest, et peut estre comparée à Pise, ou à Angers; il y a un beau pont de bateaux pour passer du costé de la Perse. La pluspart des habitans de Moussol sont Chrétiens, de la secte des Jahoabites; il y a un Pacha, avec peu de milice Ottomane. Cette ville est renommée par toute l'Asie pour les toiles teintes en rouge, qui ne perdent jamais leur couleur, et pour les noix de galles, que l'on en transporte en Europe, et autres parties du monde, des montagnes circonvoisines, avec quoy l'on accommode le Maroquin du Levant. Il y a aussi aux environs de cette ville le long du Tigre de très-bon reglisse, que les Arabes appellent Rgls; la feuille de cette plante mise dans la bouche a le mesme goust que les carnes molles; la racine est ce que l'on nous apporte en Europe, laquelle ne vient jamais droitte, n'y plus grosse que le bras, comme j'ay observé; les naturels s'en servent dans les bains, et nous autres pour les ptisanes."—*Voyages et Observations du Sieur de la Boullaye-le-Gouz*, 4to. Paris, 1657.

The following observations of Otter apply to a period of

sul, and so great was the consideration enjoyed here by the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, that a crowd of his friends and dependants went out beyond the walls of the city to greet

about eighty years later, (in 1736,) and only seven years before the bombardment of Nadir Shah, spoken of in the text.

" Mosul, capitale du pays de Dgezirè, est située sur la bord occidentale du Tigre, dans un pays uni à six journées de Miafarikin, si l'on prend le chemin du fort de Kifa, et à huit si l'on passe par Mardin. Ebul-Feda dit qu'elle avoit deux enceintes de murailles plus grandes que celles de Damas, mais qu'elles étoient en partie ruinées de son tems, de même que le fort : elle a aujourd'hui un mur, des fossés, et un rempart du côté de la rivière. Les kiervanserais, les palais, et les autres édifices, bâtis de pierres dures, sont assez beaux. L'air y est bon dans le printems, qui est pour ce pays la meilleure saison. Le chaleur y est grande en été, le froid rude en hiver, et les fièvres y regnent pendant l'automne. La ville est riche, et les habitans sont braves. Ils parlent communement quatre langues, savoir, l'Arabe, le Turc, le Persan, et le Kiurd On y fait un grand commerce, surtout de toiles de coton blanches et noires, qui s'y fabriquent. On y vend aussi des marchandises des Indes qu'on apporte de Basra ; et on tire par la voie de Haleb les draps et autres marchandises de l'Europe."—*Otter*, tome i. pp. 136, 137.

" Vis-à-vis de Mosul, de l'autre côté de la rivière, est une source de Nafte, et plus loin encore à l'est il y a une autre source appellée Reés-ul-Naoura, de laquelle on tire un limon qui sert à teindre en bleu, comme l'indigo. Au

his arrival, and to bring him into his own house, amid their acclamations of welcome. As we met these on our return from an excursion round the town, I dispensed with the further attendance of the Pasha's cawasses, and joined the party who were going to the Hadjee's house.

On our reaching this, we were all received

sud, en tirant du côté de Bagdad, il sort de la terre quantité de résine dont on fait de la poix pour enduire les barques et les bains; et á une journée de Mosul du même côté, on trouve près du Tigre dans le désert de l'eau naturellement chaude. On y a pratiqué un bassin pour le bain. Il en sort une espèce de mastic d'un fort bon goût, et dont l'odeur est agréable."—*Otter*, tome i. p. 140.

"Environ à deux heures de chemin de Kierkiouk est une colline appellée Kiourkiour-Baba, où, au rapport des gens du pays, on trouve, en creusant sur le sommet à peu de profondeur, une matière qui s'enflamme à l'air jusqu'à faire bouiller l'eau: mais la flamme disparoît des qu'on la couvre de terre. A une petite distance de là, vers l'occidente, on rencontre trois sources de Nafte, qui forment un ruisseau. Si l'on jette dans ces sources du coton, ou des morçeaux de toile allumés, on entend un bruit effroyable. Il sort d'abord de la flamme qui s'elève fort haut. La source reste après couvert de fumée jusqu'à ce que la matière soit entièrement consumée; alors la feu s'étient. On trouve aussi tout auprès une source d'où il sort de la resine qui s'écoule dans la plaine. Si quelqu'un par mégarde passe dessus, il y est tellement empôtré qu'il ne peut s'en retirer."—*Otter*, tome i. p. 153.

with great respect by the servants and slaves in waiting; but the Hadjee and his nephew were almost worshipped by them; having their knees embraced, and the hems of their garments kissed by the crowds who pressed around them as they entered the court of their dwelling.

The house itself, which was now quite new, was esteemed to be inferior to none in the city, excepting the residence of the Pasha, and, indeed, its interior decorations were as costly as those of any private abode that I had seen in the East, excepting only those of the rich Jews at Damascus. This house had been begun by the Hadjee just before his setting out on his pilgrimage, and, during the two years of his absence, it had been completed by the confidential slave or chief steward of his household. While the host and his nephew retired to receive the welcome of the females of the family, all the strangers were shewn over the dwelling, and every thing was found to be in the most perfect order for the lord's reception. The Hadjee and his nephew soon returned to us, both dressed in garments of white, all perfectly new, and prepared during their absence, to clothe them on the day of their return.

A sumptuous feast was now ready to close the scene, and while the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān was seated on one carpet, surrounded by all the strangers who journeyed in his train, the nephew entertained, on another carpet, all those of the town who came to greet them jointly on their safe return. Even here, however, amidst all the parade of wealth and hospitality, the hoary pilgrim did not disdain to bargain with me in whispers for the purchase of my horse, as he understood that I should be obliged to sell it and go to Bagdad with post-horses in the company of the Tartars, (no single animal being able to keep up with their rapid pace;) and in this transaction he sufficiently verified the proverb, on the influence of a journey to Mecca,* by persuading me into the sale of this excellent animal, for about half the price it would have brought in the public bazār; though I was in some degree disposed to yield to his terms, from a conviction that the horse, to whom I had now become strongly attached, would be better treated, and more happy under his care, than in the hands of an entire stranger.

* See this proverb at the end of chap. vi. vol. i. p. 229.

CHAPTER III.

VISIT TO THE RUINS OF NINEVEH, AND JOURNEY FROM MOUSUL TO THE RIVER LYCUS.

July 7th.—All things being arranged for my journey with the Turkish Tartars, from Mousul to Bagdad, I received intimation from the Tartar-Aga, or chief of these couriers, that our horses would be ready at nine o'clock this morning, and that, on no consideration, would any delay beyond that hour be permitted.

As I was up, however, before the sun, I procured the use of a horse and a guide from my Christian entertainer, and set out on a visit to the ruins of Nineveh, which are scattered along the eastern bank of the Tigris.

Descending through the town to the river, we crossed it, over a bridge of boats, which was just one hundred and fifty horse-paces in

CHAPTER III.

BRIDGE OF BOATS

ACROSS THE TIGRIS, AND VIEW OF THE RIVER'S BANKS.

length. The boats were badly constructed, and not being fastened together in the most secure manner, the whole bridge was set in motion by the least agitation of the water. They were moored head and stern by iron chains, and were sharp at each end. The rate of the current in mid-channel seemed at present not to exceed two miles an hour; but it was said by all, that this was the slowest rate at which it ran, and that it sometimes possessed three times its present rapidity. The water was nowhere deeper than from three to four fathoms, and it was of a yellow muddy colour throughout; though it soon became clear by being suffered to rest, and was at all seasons fine and sweet to the taste.

We went from hence towards the north-east, and passing over a stone bridge of Mohammedan work, thrown across a small stream, which discharges itself into the Tigris, came in about an hour to the principal mounds which are thought to mark the site of the ancient Nineveh.

There are four of these mounds, disposed in the form of a square; and these, as they shew neither bricks, stones, nor other materials of building, but are in many places overgrown

with grass, resemble the mounds left by entrenchments and fortifications of ancient Roman camps.

The longest of these mounds runs nearly north and south, and consists of several ridges of unequal height, the whole appearing to extend for four or five miles in length. There are three other distinct mounds, which are all near to the river, and lie in the direction of east and west. The first of these, counting from the southward, is the one called "Nebbé Yunus," having a tomb on it, which is thought to contain the ashes of the prophet Jonas, and a small village collected round it; the next to the northward is called Tal Hermoosh, which is not marked by any striking peculiarity; and the third is the one we first ascended, and which, by way of distinction, from its regularity and height, is called Tal Ninoa, or the Hill of Nineveh.*

* This might probably be the mound spoken of by Diodorus in the following passage; at least, there was no other in sight, to which his description would so well apply:—"Semiramis," he says, "buried her husband Ninus in the royal palace at Nineveh, and raised over him a mound of earth of considerable size, being nine stadia in height, and ten in breadth, as Ctesias says, so that the

In order to mark the place of this last with the greater precision, I took from its centre a set of bearings, by compass, of the principal objects in view.*

There are appearances of mounds and ruins extending for several miles to the southward, and still more distinctly seen to the northward of this, though both are less marked than the mounds of the centre. The space between these is a level plain, over every part of the face of which, broken pottery, and the other

city standing in a plain near to the river, the mount looked at a distance like a stately citadel. And it is said, that it continues to this day, though Nineveh was destroyed by the Medes, when they ruined the Assyrian empire."—*Diodorus Siculus*, b. ii. c. i. p. 59.

* Southern extreme of Mousul, ... S. S. W. 3 miles.
Northern ditto ditto, ... W. S. W. 2 miles.
Centre of the City, and Minaret of the Great Mosque of Nour-el-deen ... ... S. W. 2 miles.
Village of Catheeah N. W. by W. $\frac{3}{4}$ W. 2 miles.
Deer Kharazey, a village on the ruins of Nineveh ... ... N. W. by W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles.
Jebel Gara, a high mountain of Koordistan, covered with snow ... N. by E. 50 miles.
Range of Jebel Makloube, also in Koordistan ... from N. N. E. to E. by N. 10 miles.
Tomb and Village of Nebbé Yunus ... S. 1 mile.
Tal Harmoosh, centre ... ... S. $\frac{3}{4}$ W. $\frac{1}{2}$ mile.

usual *debris* of ruined cities, are seen scattered about.*

If it were true, as asserted by Strabo, and other early writers, that Nineveh was larger than Babylon, it might be considered to have been the largest city that ever existed in the world, and one might even credit the assertion, that "Nineveh was an exceeding great city of three days' journey,"† not in circumference, as it has been assumed,‡ but in length, since Jonah did not begin to proclaim the denunciations of God against it, until he had entered the city a day's journey, which would then have been its further extreme, if three days only had been the extent of its circuit.

* "As it was a very ancient, so was it likewise a very great city. In Jonah, it is styled 'that great city,' (i. 2. iii. 2.) 'an exceeding great city.' (iii. 3.) In the original, it is *'a city great to God;' in the same manner as Moses is called by St. Stephen, in the Acts of the Apostles, (vii. 10.) ασ-ειος τῳ Θεῳ, fair to God, or exceeding fair, as our translators rightly render it; and so 'the mountains of God, (Psalm xxxvi. 6.) are exceeding high mountains,' and 'the cedars of God, (Psalm lxxx. 10.) are exceeding tall cedars.'" —*Newton on the Prophecies*, pp. 144, 145.

† Jonah, c. iii. v. 3.

‡ Kinnier's Geographical Memoir on Persia, p. 259.

* עיר־גדולה לאלהים, Deo magna civitas, ωολις μεγαλη σῳ Θεῳ. Sept.

But we are furnished with its actual dimensions in stadia, which enables us to compare how far its comparative magnitude was greater than that of Babylon, or not. Herodotus assigns to this last a square of four hundred and eighty stadia, or a circumference of sixty miles, counting fifteen miles for each of its sides, reckoning the stadium at its highest standard of eight to a mile.* Diodorus Siculus gives the dimensions of Nineveh as one hundred and fifty stadia in length, and ninety stadia in breadth, or about nineteen miles in front along the river, and eleven and a quarter in breadth, from the river to the mountains, estimating the stadium at the same standard of value.†

* Herodotus. Clio.

† "Ninus having surpassed all his ancestors in the glory and success of his arms, was resolved to build a city of that state and grandeur, as should not only be the greatest then in the world, but such as none that ever should come after him should be able easily to exceed. Accordingly, having himself got a great number of his forces together, and provided money and treasure, and other things necessary for the purpose, he built a city near the river Euphrates, (Tigris,) very famous for its walls and fortifications, of a long form, for on both sides it ran out in length above an hundred and fifty stadia, (about nineteen miles,) but the two lesser angles were only ninety stadia in each,

There was, it is true, a greater length in the city of Nineveh; but, from its more confined breadth, the space actually included within the limits given was somewhat less than that of Babylon. It may, however, be admitted to claim for itself a higher antiquity, since the second great capital of the Assyrian empire did not begin to flourish until this, its first metropolis, whose origin mounts up to the period just succeeding the deluge,* was abandoned to decay.

The nature of the ground here determines, with sufficient precision, what must have been the local features of its site, and confirms the

so that the circumference of the whole was four hundred and eighty stadia, (about sixty miles.) And the founder was not herein deceived, for none ever after built the like, either as to the largeness of its circumference, or the stateliness of its walls. For the wall was an hundred feet in height, and so broad, as that three chariots might be driven together upon it abreast. There were fifteen hundred turrets upon the walls, each of them two hundred feet high. He appointed the city to be inhabited chiefly by the richest Assyrians, and gave liberty to the people of any other nation, (to as many as would,) to dwell there; and allowed to the citizens a large territory next adjoining to them, and called the city after his own name, Ninus."—*Diodorus Siculus*, b. ii. c. 1. p. 55.

* Genesis, c. x. v. 11.

accuracy of the historian, who describes it as of an oblong form.

From the extent of the Plain of Babylon, that city might have spread itself out to any given length, its limits being circumscribed only on the west, by the existence of marshes and lakes there. Nineveh too might have stretched a front along the river of any extent, but its breadth was absolutely fixed within ten or twelve miles, that being the whole extent of the plain on the eastern bank of the Tigris, from the river to the range of Jebel Makloube, the mountains which form its eastern boundary.

As far as I could perceive, from our elevated point of view, on the highest summit of Tal Ninoa, there were mounds of ruins similar to those near us, but less distinctly marked, as far as the eye could reach to the northward; and the plain to the eastward of us, or between the river and the mountains, had a mixture of large brown patches, like heaps of rubbish, seen at intervals, scattered over a cultivated soil.

Whatever might have been the exact dimensions of Nineveh, it was unquestionably very large; and, like most other great cities of

antiquity, was, in the period of its highest glory, a sink of wickedness and abomination. The disastrous history of Jonah, and his singular habitation during three days and three nights, when on his way to prevent the destruction of this city, are familiarly known. There is an expression, however, worth adverting to, more particularly as conveying some idea of the population of Nineveh at the period in question. It is where the Almighty, in reproving Jonah for his anger at a worm, for destroying the gourd by which he was sheltered from the sun, and his pity for the gourd itself, says, "Thou hast had pity on the gourd for the which thou hast not laboured, neither madest it grow, which came up in a night and perished in a night: And should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six-score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left, and also much cattle?"* Considering this number of one hundred and twenty thousand to mean the children and infants, who, as well as the cattle with whom they are coupled, might be mentioned as being all in a

* Jonah, c. iii. and iv. throughout.

state of innocence, and therefore not deserving to be made partakers with the guilty in the Divine vengeance, some estimate may be made of the whole population, which would thus, in the ordinary proportions of the several classes, amount to little short of half a million of people.

The denunciations of the prophet Nahum against this devoted city are extremely eloquent, but equally full of the bitterness of wrath with those pronounced by other inspired tongues, against the great empires and kingdoms of the ancient world.*

* "Woe to the bloody city! it is all full of lies and robbery; the prey departeth not; the noise of a whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the jumping chariots. The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear: and there is a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases, and there is none end of their corpses: they stumble upon their corpses. Because of the multitude of the whoredoms of the well-favoured harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, that selleth nations through her whoredoms, and families through her witchcrafts. Behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord of Hosts; and I will discover thy skirts upon thy face, and I will shew the nations thy nakedness, and the kingdoms thy shame. And I will cast abominable filth upon thee, and make thee vile, and will set thee as a gazing-stock. And it shall come to pass, that all they that look upon thee, shall

That which follows this denunciation in cludes, however, an illustration of ancient geography, too curious to be omitted. The question is asked of Nineveh, "Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite. Put and Lubim were thy helpers. Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets; and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains."*

Bruce, the celebrated Abyssinian traveller, has, I remember, considered this populous "No," to be the Egyptian "Thebes;" and though at the time of my visit to the ruins of that hundred-gated city of the gods, the identity of it with the No of the Scriptures seemed to me objectionable, from the mention of the sea as its rampart; yet here, on the

flee from thee, and say, Nineveh is laid waste: who will bemoan her? whence shall I seek comforters for thee?"—*Nahum*, c. iii. v. 1—7.

* Nahum, c. iii. v. 8—10.

ruined mounds of the fallen Nineveh, while reading from the Prophets all the denunciations of vengeance which had been uttered against it, the propriety of a comparison of its state with that of the Thebes of Egypt struck me very forcibly, and left on my mind the impression that there was no other city of antiquity, excepting this, to which the allusions made by the Prophet when speaking of "No," could at all apply.

From the number of the canals and the serpentine curves of the Nile, even while running through Thebes, it might be said, with great propriety, "to be seated among the rivers," and "to have the waters round about it." So, also, as the whole of Egypt is inaccessible but from the sea, that sea might well be called its rampart ;* while the celebrated wall, which

* I know of no description, either among the ancients or moderns, which is at once so brief, and yet so happy, as that of Josephus, regarding this country. It may be appositely given here, in confirmation of what is asserted above. He says, "Egypt is hard to be entered by land, and hath no good havens by sea. It hath, on the west, the dry deserts of Lybia; and on the south, Syene, that divides it from Ethiopia, as well as the cataracts of the Nile, that cannot be sailed over; and on the east, the Red Sea, extending as far as Coptus; and it is fortified on the north,

was constructed as a defence, and placed as an eastern barrier to the whole of that land, extending from Pelusium to the cataracts of Philoë, of which the remains are still to be seen in Egypt, was actually, as is expressed, "from the sea." Ethiopia and Egypt were, indeed, the strength of "No;" and this, too, according to every testimony, was infinite. Yet this Hecatompylon of the poets,* and Diospolis of the historians,† so pre-eminent for its antiquity, and so renowned for its colossal splendour, was literally carried away, and went into captivity, when her temples were violated, her altars overturned, her defenceless children slain, and the great and the honourable among her leaders bound and made captive by their Eastern conquerors.

Nineveh is said to have been surrounded by walls that were a hundred feet in height,‡

by the band that reaches to Syria, together with that called the Egyptian Sea, having no havens in it for ships. And this is Egypt, walled about on every side."—*Wars of the Jews*, book iv. c. 10, sect. 5.

* Homer.

† Strabo and Diodorus.

‡ To the north of the Lesser Zab, and near the Tigris, the Ten Thousand found in their retreat a city, the walls of which were no less lofty than these. "Marching the

and of a sufficient breadth for three chariots to pass along it together abreast, as well as to have been defended by fifteen hundred towers along these walls, which were each of

rest of the day without disturbance," says Xenophon, (Anab. iii. p. 212,) "they came to the river Tigris, where stood a large uninhabited city called Larissa, anciently inhabited by the Medes, the walls of which were twenty-five feet in breadth, one hundred in height, and two parasangas in circuit; all built of brick, except the plinth, which was of stone, and twenty feet high." The city here named *Larissa*, by Xenophon, is conjectured by Bochart to have been the *Resen* of the Scriptures, Gen. x. 12. He supposes that, when the Greeks asked the people of the country "what city are these the ruins of?" they answered, "Laresen," that is, *of Resen*. It is easy, says Spelman, to imagine how this word might be softened by a Greek termination, and made *Larissa*. At a very short distance from Resen, the army passed an uninhabited castle of enormous dimensions, standing near the town of Mespila, formerly also belonging to the Medes. "The plinth of the wall was built with polished stone full of shells, being fifty feet in breadth, and as many in height. Upon this stood a brick wall, fifty feet also in breadth, one hundred in height, and six parasangas in circuit." As the word τεῖχος frequently signifies "*a city*," I am surprised that Mr. Spelman should, in this instance, have followed the Latin versions, and translated *castle*, what would have borne the much better interpretation of "*fortified city*." The word κογχυλιάτης, "a stone full of shells," which occurs in the description of this fortress, has occasioned the usual quantity of learned trifling among the commentators. Leunclavius imagined, that the historian

them two hundred feet high. If the walls of Babylon, however, which were comparatively of so much more modern erection, are thought to have left no trace remaining, those of Nineveh may well have totally disappeared.

From the height on which we stood, extending our view to a considerable distance in every direction, we could not certainly perceive any marked delineation of one great outline; but mounds and smaller heaps of ruins were scattered widely over the plain, sufficient to prove that the site of the original city occupied a vast extent, notwithstanding that some of the latest visitors to this place have thought that the remains were confined to the few mounds of the centre only.

meant *stones on which the figures of shells had been sculptured!* But Hutchinson observes, that in this opinion he can by no means concur; he thinks, the shells must have been the work of nature; and no doubt, *he was right.* The stone was probably of the same description as that used in the walls of Orfah.† A pyramid of singular structure was observed near Resen: "Close to the city stood a pyramid of stone one hundred feet square and two hundred high, in *(upon)* which a great number of barbarians, who fled from the neighbouring villages, had conveyed themselves."

† See page 214 of this volume.

Macdonald Kinneir conceived that the ruins at this place were those of Ninus, the city which succeeded to Nineveh, and not those of Nineveh itself. It is evident, however, that this writer spoke only of the central mounds; as he expressly states that the circumference of all the remains he saw did not exceed four miles, and very inexplicably observes, that he saw neither *stones nor rubbish of any kind*, though the mounds are naturally altogether formed of the last.*

If the temple of Araske, in which Sennacherib was slain, after returning from his Egyptian war, when all the armour of his soldiers was knawed to pieces by mice, in one night, at Pelusium,† and a hundred and eighty-five thousand of his army, with all their captains and generals, were carried off by a pestilence, before the walls of Jerusalem, in another,‡ was equal in extent, either to the temple of Priapus at Thebes, or of Belus at Babylon, the mounds here forming an oblong square, nearly in the centre of the city, might perhaps mark the site of that building; but I

* Geographical Memoir on Persia, 4to. p. 259.

† Herodotus.

‡ Berosus, as quoted by Josephus, Ant. b. x. c. 1. s. 5.

remember no particular details regarding the size or form of that edifice, which could assist in the elucidation of this question.

From among the ruins of Nineveh, many antique gems, intaglios, and hieroglyphic devices on stone, have been dug up; of some of which, drawings and descriptions are given in the "Mines de l'Orient," by Mr. Rich, of Bagdad; and not long since, a large stone was found here, inscribed all over with sculptures and unknown characters, which, falling into the hands of the Turks, was by them broken to pieces and destroyed.

On descending from the mound of Tal Ninoa, we walked across the level space, included between it and the other principal mounds near the river, and found the whole extent of it covered with broken pottery, of a very coarse quality, and in general but slightly ribbed, though evidently of the ancient kind.*

* The completeness of the destruction of Nineveh, which Arbaces the Mede is said to have *levelled with the ground*, makes it matter of wonder that its ruins are still to be seen. "This point, I think," says Bishop Newton, "is generally agreed upon, that Nineveh was taken and destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians; these two rebelling and uniting together subverted the Assyrian empire: but authors differ much about the time when Nineveh was taken, and about

In riding across this plain, we passed a small stream, called "Maee Kosa," or the water of Kosa, which comes from the eastern

the king of Assyria, in whose reign it was taken, and even about the persons who had the command in this expedition. Herodotus* affirms, that it was taken by Cyaxares, king of the Medes; St. Jerome, after the Hebrew chronicle,† asserts that it was taken by Nabuchodonosor, king of the Babylonians: but these accounts may be easily reconciled, for Cyaxares and Nabuchodonosor might take it with their joint forces, as they actually did, according to that which is written in the book of Tobit, (xiv. 15,) if the Assuerus in Tobit be the same (as there is great reason to think him the same) with the Cyaxares of Herodotus: 'But before Tobias died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus; and before his death he rejoiced over Nineveh.' Josephus,‡ who saith, in one place, that the empire of the Assyrians was dissolved by the Medes, saith in another, that the Medes and Babylonians dissolved the empire of the Assyrians. Herodotus himself§ saith, that the Medes took Nineveh, and subdued

* Herod. lib. 1, cap. 106, p. 45. Edit. Gale.

† Hieron. in Naum. ii. 12, p. 1574, vol. 3. Edit. Benedict. Seder, Olam Rabba soli Nabuchodonosoro rem attribuit, et tempus ponit. Anno primo Nabuchodonosor subegit Nineven, id est, non diu post mortem patris. Ebraicum hoc Chronicon secuti sunt, S. Hieronymus, &c. Marshami Ch. Sæc. xviii. p. 559.

‡ *συνεβη την των Ασσυριων αρχην ὑπο Μηδων καταλυθηναι.* Assyriorum imperium a Medis eversum iri contigit. Joseph. Antiq. lib. x. cap. 2. sect. 2. p. 435.——*Μηδους και τους Βαβυλωνιους, οἱ την Ασσυριων κατελυσαν αρχην.* Medos et Babylonios, qui Assyriorum everterant imperium. Ibid. cap. v. sect. 1. p. 441. Edit. Hudson.

§ *και την τε Νινον εἱλον, και τους Ασσυριους ὑποχειριους εποιησαντο, πλην*

mountains, and passing by the foot of Tal Hermoosh, discharges itself into the Tigris. In this hill, or large mound, excavations have

the Assyrians, except the Babylonian portion; the reason of which was, the Babylonians were their allies and confederates. Ctesias, and after him,* Diodorus Siculus, ascribe the taking of Nineveh, and the subversion of the Assyrian empire, to Arbaces the Mede, assisted by Belesis, the Babylonian. I know that† Eusebius, and after him several excellent chronologers, Usher, Prideaux, and others, reckon this quite a different action, and fix it at quite a different time; but it is not likely that the same city should be twice destroyed, and the same empire twice overthrown, by the same people twice confederated together. Diodorus, who relates this catastrophe, doth not mention the other; but saith expressly,‡ that Arbaces distributed the citizens of Nineveh in the country villages, levelled the city with

της Βαβυλωνιης μοιρης. et Ninum expugnaverunt, Assyriosque, excepta Babylonica portione, subegerunt. Herod. lib. i. c. 106, p. 45. Edit. Gale.

* Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 78. Edit. Steph. p. 110. Edit. Rhodomani.

† Eusebius (more suo) utramque sententiam in canonem retulit: ad mentem Ctesiæ, Arbaces Medus, ait, Num. 1197. Assyriorum imperio destructo, regnum in Medos transtulit. Dein (post annos 213) exauctoritate Herodoti, Numb. 1410. Cyaxares Medus subvertit Ninum. Ista autem ασυστατα sunt. Marshami Chronicon. Sæc. xviii. p. 556.

‡ ὁ δ ουν Αρβακες τοις κατα την πολιν επιεικως προσενεχθεις, αυτους μεν κατα κωμας διψκισε,——την δε πολιν εις εδαφος κατεσκαψεν. επειτα τον τε αργυρον και χρυσον,—πολλων οντα ταλαντων, απεκομισε της Μηδιας εις Εκβατανα. ἡ μεν ουν ἡγεμονια των Ασσυριων—ὑπο Μηδων κατελυθη τον προειρημενον τροπον. Simili quoque lenitate erga cives usus, quamvis in pagos eos distraheret,—urbem autem solo æquavit. Tum argentum et aurum—(multa certa talenta erant) in Ecbatana Medorum regiam transtulit. Hoc ergo modo Assyriorum imperium——a Mediis eversum est. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 81. Edit. Steph. p. 115. Edit. Rhod.

been made, seemingly with a view to ascertain of what material it was formed, and probably with a hope of being able to extract burnt bricks from thence for building, as is done from mounds of ruins at Babylon; but there was here no appearance of such brick-work; the whole, from length of time, and the nature of the materials, having become condensed into one solid mass.*

As we passed by the mound, called "Tal-Nebbe-Yunus," I examined, with more attention, an opening recently made on its northern side, and here I saw, most distinctly, a section

the ground, transferred many talents of gold and silver to Ecbatana, the royal city of the Medes; and so, saith he, the empire of the Assyrians was subverted."—*Newton on the Prophecies*, pp. 149–151.

* "And he will stretch out his hand against the north, and destroy Assyria; and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness. And flocks shall lie down in the midst of her, all the beasts of the nations: both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds; for he shall uncover the cedar work. This is the rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, there is none beside me: how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in! every one that passeth by her shall hiss, and wag his hand."—*Zephaniah*, c. ii. v. 13—15.

of masonry. The bricks were apparently sun-dried, and in dimensions two spans long, and one span deep; they were of a very coarse kind, and were united by layers of common mortar. The supposed tomb of the Prophet Jonah, which stands on the top of the hill, and has collected a tolerably large village about it, is in the hands of Mohammedans. It appeared to me so like the common tombs of saints, seen all over the East, that, pressed as I was for time to return to Mousul, I did not go up to visit it.

As we went down from hence, by the eastern bank of the river, towards the bridge of boats, which goes across the Tigris, we passed again by the stone bridge, over a rivulet coming from the eastward, till it empties itself, close by this, into the river, and remarked, that it has fifteen pointed arches, but of very inferior masonry.

In approaching Mousul from the eastward on our return, its appearance was much more interesting than that offered on entering it from the west. From hence, it appeared to extend itself along the western bank of the river, for at least three miles in length. The houses seemed to be thickly crowded, though

the mosques were not proportionately numerous. The centre of the town, standing on more elevated ground than its northern and southern extremes, shewed the minaret of Nour-el-Deen, which rises from the great mosque, to considerable advantage. The view of the country, to the north of the town, offered nothing of peculiar interest; but to the south, the Pasha's gardens, and some little villas seen through the trees, made a highly picturesque appearance.

On reaching the opposite bank of the river, we re-entered Mousul, and going up through the "Sookh el Khiale," or the Horse-Bazār, where I noticed the only minaret of stone that I had seen in the city, we came to the "Konauk Tātar Agasï," or head-quarters of the couriers, near the palace of the Pasha, where the horses for our journey were just saddling, while the Tartars were cracking their whips, parading about in heavy boots, abusing the grooms and horse-keepers, and in short, giving themselves all the airs which are common among the same class of people, including post-boys, coachmen, &c. in England.

We mounted here, and set out on our journey from Mousul to Bagdad, soon after nine

o'clock, the Tartars being the same, Jonas and Ali, who had come alone from Diarbekr, and with our caravan across the Desert of Sinjār; they being charged with packets from the British Ambassador at Constantinople, to Mr. Rich at Bagdad. As our horses were now fresh and good, and our saddles and furniture put in order during our short stay at Mousul, we set out with high spirits, and the prospect of an expeditious journey at least, Ali and myself going on before, and leaving Jonas to overtake us.

After crossing the Tigris, over the bridge of boats before described, we travelled in a southern direction, receding gradually from the eastern banks of the river, as the stream made here a course of about south-south-west. For the first two hours, during which the whole distance traversed was about ten miles, we continued among hillocks and mounds, which had all the appearance of being formed from the wreck of former buildings. It resembled, in this respect, the indefinite remains and rubbish seen on the sites of other ruined cities, as Alexandria, Memphis, Sais, and Tanis, in Egypt; and left no doubt, in my own mind, of its marking the

extent of ancient Nineveh, to be fully equal to the dimensions given of it by the early geographers and historians.

On leaving these, we came out on a dusty plain, and soon after noon we reached the first stage, or "Konauk," as it is called, at a tolerably large village, called Karagoash. We had passed in the way two streams of water, coming down from the eastern mountains, running through the site of Nineveh, and discharging themselves into the Tigris; and we had seen, to the eastward of us, or on our left, several small places, the names of which I could not learn.

In this village of Karagoash, all the houses were constructed of sun-dried brick, cemented with mud, exactly like the masonry seen in the section of the mound at Tal Hermoosh, and thought to be the remains of some of the old dwellings of the Ninevites.

This, indeed, must have always been, and will, no doubt, always continue to be, the style of building used by the poor of this country, from the great expense of procuring stone, and the facility of raising a habitation of earth. Stone, it is true, is to be had, but not from a less distance than ten or twelve miles, which

is that of the nearest range of mountains on the east; and as we have seen, at Mousul, the marble or veined gypsum, brought from the hills to the northward of that city, is but sparingly used, even in the houses of the rich, for door-frames, pillars, &c.

As these are permanent causes which influence the manner of building in the present day, so the same causes prevailed in the earliest periods, and naturally produced the same effects. Thus, besides the visible remains of such brick-work at Nineveh, we find an allusion to this mode of building in the Prophet's proclamation of its fall.*

Among the houses of Karagoash, which are all of sun-dried bricks, there are some large ones, with a hollow rail-work of plaster carried around the terraces on the flat roof; but the greater part of the dwellings are small huts, with conical roofs of mud, looking like clusters of large bee-hives.

The inhabitants are chiefly Christian, and are of the Syrian church; among themselves, they speak the Syriac language only; but they

* "Draw thee waters for the siege; fortify thy strongholds, go into clay, and tread the mortar, make strong the brick-kiln."—*Nahum*, c. iii. v. 14.

address themselves to strangers both in Arabic and Turkish. Their occupations are chiefly pastoral and agricultural, but they live in general in a state of great poverty.

We were received here by the "Seroodjee Bashi," or Head of the Saddlers, as a keeper of post-horses for the government is here called, and treated by him and his attendants with an extraordinary degree of respect. A room was appropriated expressly to our accommodation, and this was spread out with carpets and cushions for our repose. Pipes and coffee were also served to us, and a number of dishes were expeditiously prepared; but as Jonas still delayed to join us, Ali, who was the younger of the two, did not feel himself at liberty to partake of them without waiting yet longer for his companion.

We waited here at least two hours for this Jonas, who, it was said, was detained in dalliance with a young wife to whom he had been newly married at Mousul, and who was unwilling to part with him. The hard-riding life that this Tartar led, in constantly repeated journeys from one extremity of the empire to another, by no means unfitted him, it would seem, for softer pleasures; for, to fulfil

both the law and the prophets, he possessed his full number of four legal wives, who were judiciously distributed along his usual route, the handsomest living at Constantinople, the oldest at Diarbekr, the youngest at Mousul, and the richest at Bagdad: so that he had beauty and wealth to solace him at the extremes of his journeys, and staid age and youth to comfort him on his way.

Our patience being exhausted in hopeless waiting for his arrival, we partook of our meal without him, and, after another pipe, mounted fresh horses, and set out on our way. We had now two horsemen as drivers, who each led two other horses, lightly laden with the packets, &c., of which Ali had before taken care; so that the number of our horses was now eight, and of drivers only four.

It must have been about three o'clock when we started from this village, from which we went in a south-south-east direction, travelling at the rate of about six miles an hour.

At four, we crossed a large clear stream, which was so deep as to be barely fordable; and at five we went over another similar one. These were both called Kauther, or Kauzir Sou, and were said to be two branches that

came from the mountains of Koordistan to the north-east of us, when, uniting into one stream a little to the south-west, it discharged its waters into the Tigris.

In the latest and largest map accompanying the Geographical Memoir on the Countries between the Euphrates and Indus, by Macdonald Kinneir, the station of Karakawh is omitted, though it is mentioned in the memoir itself as being four farsangs, or about fifteen miles, from Mousul.* The courses of the streams here enumerated, as crossed since leaving that place, are also very inaccurately delineated, and the two branches of the Kauzir

* " D'Altoun-Kopri, en suivant la direction du nord, en arrive à *Erbil (Arbelles)* après un trajet de dix lieues. Cette ville est située sur un monticule qui domine une vaste étendu de terrain, dont les productions sont les mêmes que celles du district de Kerkouk. Erbil, si renommée par la victoire qu' Alexandre remporta dans ses plaines sur l'armée de Darius, est regardée comme une des plus fortes places du Pachalik de Bagdad ; elle est gouvernée par un *bey*, ou lieutenant, et elle a un château et plusieurs manufactures des étoffes en laine et en coton. Un canal assez large en fertilise le terroir, et ses habitans montrent aux voyageurs curieux qui en parcourent les environs, plusieurs ruines d'anciens châteaux, qu'ils supposent avoir été bâtis par les monarques Persans de la dernière dynastie."— *Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, pp. 85, 86.

Sou, or Hazir Sou, are confounded with the Greater Zab.

The Hazir Sou of this map is, no doubt, the ancient Bumadis, or Bumade, or Bumallus, by all of which names it occurs in the ancient geographers and historians;* but this is certain, that the two branches or arms of it, which we crossed, are distinct from the Greater Zab, according to all modern descriptions of that river.

It was on these wide plains, on the banks of the Bumadis, that Darius was encamped, just previous to the fatal battle of Gaugamela. Soon after Alexander, in his expedition into the East, had crossed the Tigris without opposition, the capture of a body of cavalry belonging to the Persians furnished him with the intelligence of Darius being so near him. The troops were allowed to repose but a few days, and recruit their strength and spirits, both worn and exhausted by their passage through the burning plains of Mesopotamia, when Alexander led them on again in person, and halted within sixty stadia of the Persian army.

These are the preliminary particulars, which

* Quintus Curtius, lib. iv. c. 9, &c.

are given by Arrian ;* and it is to be inferred, from Diodorus Siculus, who also mentions the two armies being encamped in the presence of each other, that the battle between them was fought two days after the Macedonians had passed the river ;† which, if marching days only were meant, without counting those of rest, would agree pretty accurately with the distance.

The learned author of the "Critical Inquiry into the Historians of the Life of Alexander the Great," has very justly exposed the contradictions of Quintus Curtius, who, in his account of this battle, seems to have sacrificed the sober consistency of the historian to a vain display of his powers as a rhetorician. On the plain, as he tells us, where the two armies encountered, neither bush nor tree was to be seen, and the view was as boundless as the horizon.‡ Yet Alexander had given orders to level every obstacle that interrupted the

* Arrian Exped. Alex. lib. iii. c. 7—9.

† Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvii.

‡ "Opportuna explicandis copiis regio erat equitabilis et vasta planities: ne stirpes quidem et brevia virgulta operiunt solum: liberque prospectus oculorum etiam quæ procul recessêre permittitur."—*Quint. Curt.* lib. iv. c. 35, tomus ii. p. 233.

motions of the troops,* and according to the testimony of this same writer, one of the detachments of the Macedonians occupied, just before the action, a height which the Persians had abandoned,† while, as he afterwards says, when speaking of the battle itself, the woods and valleys echoed with the shouts of the armies.‡

There is, however, some truth in the midst of these seeming contradictions; and the errors are, perhaps, rather the effect of too high a colouring than of wilful perversion of facts. The ground here, in the neighbourhood of these streams, is sufficiently destitute of very marked hills to be called, in general, "a wide plain;" and it is quite true, that throughout its whole extent, as far as I could myself perceive, not a tree was any where to be seen. The view too, on every side, is "ex-

* "Itaque si quà campi eminebant, jussit æquari totumque fastigium extendi."—lib. 4. c. 35.

† Mazæus—cum delectis equitum in edito colle, ex quo Macedonum prospiciebantur castra consederat—Macedones eum ipsum collem, quem deseruerat, occupaverunt, nam et tutior planitie erat."—lib. 4. c. 48.

‡ Macedones, ingentem pugnantium more, edidêre clamorem—Redditus et a Persis, nemora vallesque circumjectas terribili sono impleverat."—*Quint. Curt.* lib. 4. cap. 48.

tensive," and, in many places, as "boundless as the horizon." Yet, for all this, there are a sufficient number of undulating ridges, to form both "heights and valleys" in a military sense, where the smallest difference of elevation is of importance in the choice of positions, so that the Macedonians might really have occupied such an eminence, after it had been abandoned by the Persians. But, for the expression of the "woods and valleys echoing with the shouts of the contending armies," it must be abandoned, as quite inapplicable to the scene of the event, and having an existence only in the fervid imagination of the Roman writer.

A million of men is the number which the best historians of the times assign to this army of the Persians; and, as the French critic* has observed, though the calculation may appear extravagant, it certainly does not exceed the bounds of probability. All the nations, in fact, from the Euxine Sea to the extremities of the East, had made a common cause with Darius, and sent him numerous and powerful reinforcements. It was the custom then, as well

* The Baron de St. Croix, in the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.—Paris. 4to.

as now, for the Asiatics to carry even their wives and children along with them, in their military expeditions; and Persian luxury could not dispense with the want of a crowd of the useless followers of a camp; two circumstances which will considerably diminish the number of the real and effective troops.

If we consider, also, the living clouds of Barbarians that have spread themselves in different ages over the western world, and those immense bodies of more regular troops, which, under the command of Tartar princes, possessed themselves of almost all the provinces of Asia, we may easily conceive, that such a multitude might have been collected, to combat, on the plains of Assyria, for the safety of the Persian Empire.

The issue of this battle was fatal to the power of Darius; and the myriads of his devoted followers were dispersed and overcome by the superior discipline, as well as courage, of the Macedonian conquerors.

After crossing the second or eastern branch of the river, we continued our way still south-easterly, and at sun-set began to descend on a lower level, going throu ghhills of pudding-stone, shewing cliffs of considerable depth,

in which the rounded pebbles were imbedded in a matrix of so pure a lime, that it was difficult not to believe it to be the remains of some old masonry, or at least the work of human hands, rather than a natural production. This descent brought us out on a plain, in which was a small village, the dwellings of which had conical roofs of straw thatching, though the usual fashion of the country is to have the roofs flat.

It was dark when we reached the north-western bank of a large stream flowing from the eastward, which was broader, deeper, and more rapid than any part of the Tigris itself that I had yet seen; and we had gone, since leaving Karagoash, about twenty-four miles in a south-south-east direction.

Our horses were here unsaddled; and boys riding astride on skins, filled out with wind, swam over to the other side, leading in their hand the animals, who swam also. We ourselves were then conveyed across with all the baggage and horse-furniture, on kelleks, or rafts, formed of stripped branches of trees supported by inflated skins, in the way in which these rivers were navigated at the

earliest periods of antiquity.* As large trees are scarce here, the blades of the paddles were made of the sections of split yellow cane, tied

* See Herodotus, in his description of the commerce and supplies of Babylon. Those kelleks were also used in the time of the younger Cyrus, to navigate the Euphrates. "In their march through the Desert," says Xenophon, "they discovered a large and populous city, situated on the other (the Arabian) side of the Euphrates, called Carmande, where the soldiers bought provisions, having passed over to it upon rafts, by filling the skins, which they made use of for tents, with dry hay, and sewing them together so close, that the water could not get therein." Spelman observes, in his note on this passage, that, anciently, rafts, of the kind here spoken of, were much used in passing rivers; and adds, "that Alexander passed several rivers in this manner, particularly the Oxus, in his victorious march through Asia."—*Anabasis*, b. i. p. 60. In the third book of the same work, we find an account of the very ingenious invention by which a certain Rhodian proposed to convey the Ten Thousand over the Tigris:—"While they (the generals and captains) were in perplexity, a certain Rhodian came to them, and said, 'Gentlemen, I'll undertake to carry over four thousand heavy-armed men at a time, if you'll supply me with what I want, and give me a talent for my pains.' Being asked what he wanted? 'I shall want,' says he, 'two thousand leather bags. I see here great numbers of sheep, goats, oxen, and asses; if these are flayed, and their skins blown, we may easily pass the river with them. I shall also want the girths belonging to the sumpter horses; with

together side by side, and in shape resembling the classic oar of Grecian sculpture.

We were conveyed across the river on these rafts, amid the cheering songs of the rowers; not however without some alarm, from the smallness of the vessel, compared with the weight of its lading and the rapidity of the stream; the eddies of which sometimes whirled our little raft round and round, and defied the controlling power of the oar.

This stream, the depth of which it is difficult, from the rapidity of its current, to ascertain by sounding, ran at the rate of about five miles an hour when we crossed it. Its sources are said to be in the mountains of Koordistan, about four or five days' journey to the eastward of this. It is, consequently, lower in the spring and winter, and higher in the summer and autumn months; the first, from the melting of the snows, and the second, from

these,' adds he, 'I will fasten the bags to one another, and, hanging stones to them, let them down into the water instead of anchors, then tie up the bags at both ends, and when they are upon the water, lay fascines upon them, and cover them with earth. I will make you presently sensible (continues he) that you cannot sink, for every bag will bear up two men, and the fascines and the earth will prevent them from slipping."

its augmentation by rains: but, from the nature of the bed through which it flows, its waters are always clear and sweet. The name of this river here is Therba, or Zerba, as it is pronounced both ways by the people of the country; and this, which is distinct from the two branches of the Kauzir Sou, which join together and run in one into the Tigris, is unquestionably the Greater Zab of the ancients, the Zabatus of Xenophon, and the Lycus of Ptolemy.

D'Anville supposes an error, either in the text or the translation of the Arabian Geographer, Edrisi, when he says, that the Greater and Lesser Zab join each other, and their united stream then equals, or even surpasses, the half of the Tigris; "for," says the French Geographer, "it is notorious that they do not join at all."*

This is, however, too rigid a criticism, as nothing is more liable to change than the

* "Il y a quelque defaut dans la traduction de l'Edrisi, ou il le trompe lui-même, dans la sixième partie du quatrième climat, en disant que les deux Zab, lorsqu'ils se joignent (quando in unum coalescunt) egalent et surpassent même la moitie du Tigre: car il est notoire qu'ils ne se joignent point."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, 4to. Paris, 1779.

course of rivers, in flat countries like these, where the points of union and separation, particularly when the branches themselves are near each other, may be subject to many and frequent alterations. Neither is it impossible, that the Arabian geographer might have spoken of the two branches of the Kauther, or Kauzir Sou, as I understood the people of the country, who spoke very indistinctly, to call the two branches which we passed between Karagoash and this place. These really do unite, and are but then about equal to half the breadth of the Tigris; while the Greater Zab, at the point of its discharge into that river, appeared to the Greeks, according to Xenophon, to be as large as the Tigris itself, and at the point where we crossed it was certainly fully so.*

* This river, at the time that Xenophon and the Ten Thousand passed it in their retreat, was four hundred feet in breadth. The mode in which they crossed over is not described.—*Anabasis*, lib. iii.

The following is what Otter, a curious but cursory traveller, observes of the Zab:—"Le Zab se jette dans le Tigre, à deux journées plus bas que Mousul, au-dessous de Hadieè, autrefois capitale de ce pays. Ebul-Feda dit que le Zab a été appellé Medgenoun, ou le furieux, à cause de sa rapidité. Au rapport du Géographe Turc, on a donné ce

This river is called the Lycus, by Ptolemy; and it is apparently its rapidity, says D'Anville, which, by a comparison with the fury of a wolf, has occasioned it to be called, in Persian, *Ab-e-Djenoun*, or the Furious Water. In Pliny, it has the name of Zerbis, which is just its present one, with a Greek termination; and by Xenophon it is called Zabatus; and by other ancient writers, Zabus, all evidently variations of the same word.*

Nicolaus of Damascus relates, that Antiochus† erected a trophy on the bank of the

nom a une rivière appellée Zibar, qui passe par le pays d'Amadia. Les Zibaris ont été nommés ainsi à cause qu'ils habitent sur ses bords. C'est peut-être la même rivière sous différens noms."—Tome i. pp. 147—148.

* "Le Grand Zab est appellé Lycus dans Ptolemée, et c'est apparemment sa rapidité, qui, par un comparaison avec un Loup, le fait appeller en Persan, 'Ab-e-djènoun,' ce qui signifie, 'Eau furieuse.' Le nom de Zerbis, sous lequel le Grand Zab paroît dans Pline, (lib. vi. cap. 26,) est remarquable, en ce qu'il se maintient dans le pays même, comme Thevenot et Tavernier concourent à nous en instruire, en écrivant Zarb."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 90.

† This was Antiochus the Seventh, or Sidetes, and not Antiochus the Tenth, or Pius, though the latter was called, as Josephus says, Antiochus the Pious, from his great zeal for religion.

river Lycus, upon his conquest of Indates, the general of the Parthians. Josephus, who has preserved this as a testimony of the good disposition of Antiochus towards his nation, adds, "It was at the desire of Hyrcanus that this was done, because it was such a festival derived to them from their forefathers, on which the laws of the Jews did not allow them to travel." These two days of rest were occasioned by the feast of Pentecost falling out on the day following the Sabbath, as the same writer himself observes.*

We were received, on our landing on the opposite bank of this river, by the chief of the village, seated above the cliff here, and called by the same name as the rafts, on which we had crossed the stream, namely Kellek. The village itself was small, and stood on the brow of a cliff, presenting the same appearance of pudding-stone as those seen on the eastern bank of the river. The roofs of the dwellings were all flat, though, on the other side of the stream, they were conical: we could learn no other reason than long established custom for this difference.

The people on the north of the Zab are

* Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xiii. cap. 8.

mostly Christians, of the Greek church; and there are whole villages in which only the Syriac language is spoken among themselves. The people of the village of Kellek were Yezeedis, differing in some points of belief, the particulars of which we could not learn, from the Yezeedis of Sinjār, and considering themselves therefore as a distinct race. The party of the Sheikh, his children, and their dependants, who entertained us with coffee on the beach, were the handsomest group of men that I had ever seen together, of the same number, in any part of the world; indeed there was, hardly one of them, that, taken individually, could not have been admired in any country for his beauty of person and elegance of form.

Few as these villagers are in number, they guard this passage of the river as their own, and boast of their being independent of all the Pashas around them. They treated us with an attention and civility that proved how well they could behave to strangers, who respected their independence, and paid the moderate demands which they made for the passage of their river; but it was said, that they were intrepid defenders of those rights when invaded, and were as remarkable for their

ferocity against their enemies, as for their urbanity to those with whom they were at peace.

They considered the place of their origin to be the mountains of Koordistan, and among themselves generally spoke the language of that country, though Turkish was equally familiar to them. The Koords have been, in all ages, remarkable for their love of independence; a blessing which the nature of their country enables them easily to retain, since its local features are rugged mountains, narrow passes, confined valleys, inaccessible heights, and easily defended positions. Strabo remarks, that the Parthians, whose territories were upon the banks of the Tigris, were formerly called Carduchi,* and the character of these Parthians is well known. The retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks though their country gave Xenophon an opportunity of bearing testimony to their being then a warlike nation, and not subject to any King; a state in which the greater part of the country has continued ever since.†

While we were regaling on the banks of the

* Spelman's Cyrus, p. 111.

† Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 245.

river, and learning, from our entertainers, that there were many other villages along the Tigris, and the plains to the eastward of it, peopled by Yezeedis of their own sect, the Tartar Jonas was heard to hail for the kelleks to be sent over for him on the other side. He soon after joined us, lavishing his abuse, both on Ali and myself, for having dared to swallow up the meal, prepared chiefly on his account, at Karagoash, and for presuming to leave that village on our way without him.

When the rage of this angry Turk had spent itself in imprecations, and the necessary payment was made to the Yezeedi chief of the pass of Kellek, we set forward on our journey together, Jonas having himself the best horse, and now taking the lead, as if to punish us for our offences, by the only means within his power: for all his terms of abuse being exhausted, he kept us on one continued gallop, at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour, though the ground we went over was a stony and desert tract, and a constant succession of ascent and descent, so as to render it unusually fatiguing. We were favoured, however, by a bright moonlight, so that no accident occurred to any one, though it required not only sure-

footed beasts, but animals really familiar with the road, not to have fallen with us at the rate we galloped.

It was near midnight when we reached a large village, called Ain Koura, having travelled, since leaving Kellek, on the banks of the Zarba, about twenty-four miles in a south-easterly direction. Young Ali, the Tartar, having been sent off at a forced gallop, about a league before we reached the village, to prepare for our reception, every thing was in order when we arrived; and when we alighted, carpets, cushions, pipes, and coffee, were all ready prepared, and an excellent supper set before us, after which we lay down on soft and clean beds, on the terrace, to sleep.

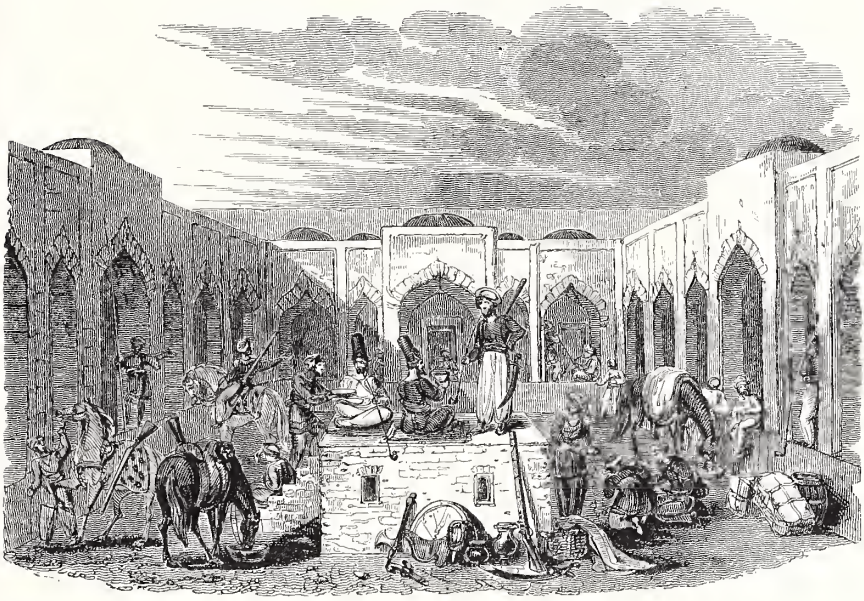
CHAPTER IV.

FROM AIN KOURA, BY THE ANCIENT ARBELA, TO KERKOOK.

Our repose was sweet, but short; for our slumbers were broken by the hoarse voice of Jonas, bellowing through the court just as the moon was setting, and not more than three hours after we had lain down to rest.

While fresh horses were saddling, the Tartars and myself sat down to a breakfast of roasted fowls, cream, honey, and sweetmeats; while a man stood at each of our elbows with a bottle of strong arrack, and a cup to supply us at our pleasure. It is difficult to describe how much these villagers, who were all Syrian Christians, seemed to stand in awe of the Turkish letter-carriers, on whom they waited. There stood around us not less than forty persons, some bearing full and others empty

CHAPTER IV.



INTERIOR OF A PUBLIC CARAVANSERAI, AT AIN KOURA.

dishes; some having water-pots and basons ready for washing—one holding the soap and another the towel—the humbler ones among them being content to have the boots of the riders ready for them when they rose from the carpet; and all, indeed, seeming anxious to make themselves in some way or other subservient to the pleasures of these lordly tyrants.

Large doses of arrack were swallowed, both by Jonas and Ali, though the former seemed to pride himself on his pre-eminence in this, as well as in all other respects; and, even at this early hour of the morning, he emptied two full bottles for his share. I was myself obliged to drink, almost to intoxication, though a much less quantity than that swallowed by them would have disabled me from proceeding: but the haughty Turk honoured me with his permission to drink in his presence, and this was granted as a favour which it would have been an affront of the highest kind to refuse.

We had no sooner descended into the court, than the effects of these exhilarating draughts began to manifest themselves pretty unequivocally. Jonas found fault with the horse that had been saddled for him, and insisted on its

being the worst of the stud, though it was an enviably fine creature, and worth any three of the others put together. Ali, not to be behind his comrade, had all the baggage-horses loaded afresh, and changed his own saddle to two or three different horses in succession, until he condemned them all as the worst group of animals that God had ever assembled together since the brute creation were first named by Adam.

The poor Syrians bore these vexations with so much patience, that they might be said literally to have fulfilled the injunction, "If a man smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also." The very want of some resistance to this treatment was, however, a cause of fresh vexation to the Tartars; since they inferred from it, that their tyranny had not been felt as an annoyance; so that, handling their whips, one of them exclaimed, "What! you will *not* be angry, then. By God, but we will make ye so!" and laid about him with the fury of a maniac. Ali contented himself with the use of the whip only, saying, that as they were bullocks, and mules, and asses, and brute beasts, this was the only punishment fit for them; but Jonas, having

received some indignity from a young lad, who spit in his face and ran off faster than the other could pursue him, drew his yatagan, and chased those near him with this naked dagger in his hand, till they flew in every direction; and he, at last, in the rage of disappointment, threw it with all his force amidst a group of three or four who were near him, and shivered its ivory handle by the fall into twenty pieces. The only regret that he expressed was, that the blade had not buried itself in some of their hearts, instead of the weapon thus falling uselessly on the ground. After such conduct, none of the people could be prevailed on to approach us, though at least a hundred of the villagers stood aloof gazing at these two enraged Turks, and flying at the least symptom of pursuit. We were, therefore, obliged to finish the saddling of our own horses, and to mount, and leave the leaders of the baggage-horses to follow us when their fears had subsided.

It was not yet daylight when we left the village of Ain Koura, and going now in a direction of south-south-east, over a partially cultivated country for about four miles, we came, just as the sun was rising, to the town

of Areveel, or Arbeel, for it is pronounced in both these ways by its own inhabitants.

This was the largest place that we had yet seen since leaving Mousul, and its population was reported to exceed ten thousand, half of which may be nearer the truth. The people are chiefly Mohammedans. We saw here two tolerable mosques with minarets, extensive, and, even at this early hour, well-filled bazārs, streets shaded by awnings of leaves and branches supported by poles, many good dwelling-houses of sun-dried bricks, and a number of well-dressed people.*

The principal feature of this town is a large castle, seated on an eminence in the centre, looking, from a distance, like the castles of Emessa and Aleppo in Syria, and equally as large as either of these. The mound on which it is elevated is of a square form, raised on an inclined slope; and though of

* The following is the brief notice given of this place by Rauwolff:—"The last day of December we travelled on, and came through well-tilled fields about night into the town Harpel, which is pretty large, but very pitifully built, and miserably surrounded with walls, so that it might easily be taken without any great strength or loss; there we rested again the next day, being the Sabbath, and on the same day fell New-Year's Day.—p. 164.

great extent, is, no doubt, the work of human labour, as far at least as the shaping and casing of its exterior with stone, though the interior basis of the structure is perhaps a natural hill. Within the walls of the castle, which are constructed of brick, there are many inhabited dwelling-houses, though the most extensive part of the town is spread around the foot of the citadel.

The united testimonies of all modern geographers agree in admitting this to be the site of the ancient Arbela, whose name it still retains. It was to this place, that Darius retreated, after the battle of Gaugamela,* flying under the cover of the night, from the troops of Alexander. He made no stay here, but hastened into Media, to recruit his army, while the Macedonian conqueror, following up his

* "This battle happened in the month of October, much about the same time of the year in which was fought the battle of Issus, two years before, and the place where it was fought was Gaugamela, in Assyria; but that being a small village, and of no note, they would not denominate so famous a battle from so contemptible a place, but called it the battle of Arbela, because that was the next town of any note, though it were at the distance of above twelve miles from the field where the blow was struck."—*Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament*, pp. 714, 715.

advantages, arrived soon after him at Arbela. The city instantly surrendered to him, and put him in possession of considerable spoils, consisting of the royal furniture and equipage of Darius, four thousand talents in money, and all the riches of the army, which had been left there in his flight.

D'Anville observes, that though it is usual to apply the name of Arbela to the battle which lost the Persians the empire of Asia, and gave it to the Greeks, yet it is always spoken of as a very small place by Strabo, Arrian, and Plutarch. Strabo adds, indeed, says this writer, that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, had destined this place to the maintenance of the camel which had carried his personal baggage in his expedition against the Scythians.*

* "Quoique il soit d'usage d'appliquer le nom d'Arbelles, (Arbela, qui est au pluriel,) à une fameuse bataille qui fit perdre aux Perses l'empire d'Asie, pour le donner aux Grecs, c'est toutefois sous le nom d'un très petit lieu qu'il en est parlé dans Strabon, dans Arrien, et dans Plutarch. Strabon ajoute sur ce sujet, que Darius, fils d' Hystaspe, avoit destiné ce lieu à l'entretien d'un chameau qui avait porté le baggage propre à sa personne dans son expedition contre les Scythes."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 88. 4to.

By some of the ancient geographers, this town of Arbela is placed on the river Lycus ;* but, as we have seen, it is nearly thirty miles to the south-east of that stream, supposing this to be the same with the Zabatus, or Zarba, as before assumed. D'Anville seems to have had very imperfect materials to guide him through this part of Alexander's route, though, in his dissertation, he blames Ptolemy, and quotes Arrian, after which he fixes Arbela on the river Caprus, or the lesser Zab, which is equally far from the truth, as there is no stream sufficiently near to Arbeel, for this town to be considered as seated on any river at all.

With regard to the observation of this geographer, that Arbela is always spoken of as a *small* place : it may have been originally a very inconsiderable one ; but Strabo says, that Arbela was adorned by Alexander, on account of his victory there, and that a mountain or hill in the neighbourhood of it (probably indeed the one on which the castle is now built) was called Nicatorius, to commemorate the same event.†

* See the authorities for this position, quoted by Lempriere.

† The conflicting testimonies, not only of different writers,

Our stay at Arbela was but just sufficient to water our horses, and take a cup of coffee at one of the houses in the streets, with our bridles in hand; when we set forward again

but of the same historians, in various portions of their narratives, on the position and events of the battle of Arbela, require to be analyzed and compared.

Arrian, in his history of the Expedition of Alexander, says, that the whole army of Darius consisted of forty thousand horse, a million of foot, two hundred hooked chariots, and about fifteen elephants, which arrived from the parts beyond the river Indus. With these forces Darius encamped at Gaugamela, upon the banks of the river Bumadus, about six hundred stadia distant from Arbela, in a country every where open and champaign; for whatever inequality was in the surface of the earth thereabouts, and whatever it was deemed could be any impediment to the armed chariots, was all levelled by the Persians, and made commodious for them to wheel round upon. For Darius was persuaded by some of his followers, that the defeat at Issus was chiefly occasioned by the narrowness of the place of encampment, and this he easily believed. (book iii. chap. viii.) In a note on this passage, the able translator of Arrian (Rooke) exposes the contradiction of Curtius's estimate with regard to the number of the Persian troops in this battle, which, in one place, he makes forty-five thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot, (book iv. chap. xii.) and in another states, that it was more numerous by one half than the army that Darius had in Cilicia, (book iv. chap. iii.) which army he himself makes to consist of sixty-one thousand two hundred horse, and two hundred and twenty thousand foot, besides thirty thousand mercenaries.

on our journey. This rapid mode of travelling, which is unavoidable when accompanying the Tartars charged with despatches, is as unfavourable to observation as it is destructive of

Justin (book xi. chap. xii.) reckons them at one hundred thousand horse, and four hundred and four thousand foot; Diodorus Siculus (book xvii. chap. xxxix.) at two hundred thousand horse, and eight hundred thousand foot; and Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, says, that the whole number of horse and foot together made up a million. These accounts vary much; but from them also it may be inferred, that the Persian force was prodigiously numerous. The translator of Arrian again accuses Curtius of contradiction, in saying, that the field of battle was all levelled by the Persians, (book iv. chap. ix.) and then placing Mazæus with a party on a hill to discover the enemy's movements. (book iv. chap. xii.) But it is plain there were such hillocks near the ground, as Arrian himself says, that when Alexander marched from Arbela at the second watch of the night, in order that he might be ready to attack the Persians by break of day, he halted within sixty stadia of the Persian camp, and both armies ranged themselves in battle array, from the information given of each other's positions by their spies, as the armies themselves were not yet come within sight of each other, for some small hillocks lying in the middle hindered them. But, adds the same historian, when Alexander had advanced with his army almost thirty stadia, he arrived at these hillocks, from whence he had a full view of the Barbarian camp. (book iii. chap. ix.) Alexander, in his pursuit of Darius, who was flying towards Ecbatana, in Media, crossed the river Lycus, and made a halt there; it being night, and his

pleasure; and the sensations I experienced on catching a glance of interesting objects, which I could not then carefully examine, though I was never likely to behold them again, fre-

soldiers and horses needing refreshment. After some rest, they set out again at midnight, and marching forward, arrived at Arbela the next day, after having pursued the fugitives six hundred stadia. (book iii. c. 15.) It is evident, from this, that the battle was fought as far on the west side of the Lycus, as Arbela is on the east of it; and that the battle should, therefore, have been called the battle of Gaugamela, from the nearest village to the scene of action, or the battle of the Bumadus, from the river on whose banks the armies were encamped. Arrian, himself, in a digression which he makes, to offer a few strictures on historians generally, has some pertinent remarks on this subject. He says, "in the same manner, the last battle with Darius (from whence he took his flight and continued it from place to place, till he was seized by Bassus and slain upon Alexander's approach) is as confidently reported to have been fought at Arbela, as the preceding one was at Issus, and the first equestrian battle at the river Granicus. The first equestrian battle really happened on the banks of the river Granicus, as did the other at Issus; but Arbela is distant from the field where this last battle was fought, six hundred, or at least five hundred stadia. For both Ptolemy and Aristobulus assure us, that the scene of this last action with Darius was at Gaugamela, *upon* the river Bumadus. And whereas Gaugamela was only an obscure village, and the sound of its name not grateful to the ear, the glory of that battle has been conferred on Arbela, as the chief city of these parts." But, he asks, "if this battle may be said

quently contained as large a mixture of disappointment and regret as of immediate gratification. On the present occasion, the first greatly predominated.

to have been fought at Arbela, which was really fought at so great a distance from it, why may not the naval action at Salamis be ascribed to the Corinthian Isthmus, or that at Artemisius, in the island Eubœa, to Egina, or Sunium ?" (book vi. c. 11.) Curtius, indeed, who must be confessed to have been a most inaccurate geographer, in one place (book iv. chap. ix.) places Arbela on the *west* of the Tigris, and, consequently, far remote from either the Lycus or the Bumadus; though in the same chapter he places it on the east of it, (book iv. chap. ix.) He calls it also an inconsiderable village, and memorable for nothing but for this battle between Alexander and Darius; but, in addition to the opposing testimony of Arrian, Strabo says, expressly, that it was a large city, and the capital of a province, (book xvi.) Curtius states that Darius fled from the field of battle, which was at Gaugamela, according to Arrian, Strabo, and Plutarch, and reached Arbela at midnight, (book v. chap. i.) But, besides that this is making Arbela too near to the scene of action, Arrian says, that Darius, immediately after this battle, fled through the mountainous tract of Armenia into Media, (book iii. chap. 16.) and Diodorus Siculus (book xvii.) confirms this, by saying that he hastened away to Ecbatana, which was the capital of that country, without either of them mentioning his taking Arbela in the way. Curtius, indeed, goes so far as to say, that Alexander was driven from Arbela sooner than he intended, by the stench of the dead carcases left unburied on the field of battle; (book v. chap. i.) but as this is so

On going out of the town to the southward, we noticed a fine tall minaret, now isolated, and in ruins, though the green tile-facing of its original exterior was still visible in many places, and from its size and style of ornament, it must have been attached to some considerable mosque.*

Our course was still directed to the south-south-east, and the country over which we travelled was mostly waste and destitute of villages. The stage was long, the horses jaded, the sun scorching, the air on fire, the soil parched, not a breath of wind from the heavens, and no water on the road. When we had been six hours on the full gallop, having ridden nearly fifty miles, we arrived, exhausted with thirst and fatigue, on the

expressly stated to have been six hundred stadia distance, such an extensive corruption of the air, from this cause, is hardly credible.

* Pliny speaks of a singular stone called Belus, found at this place:—"The stone called Belus' eye is white, and has a peculiar property, which causes it to glitter like gold. This stone, for its singular beauty, is dedicated to Belus, the most sacred god of the Assyrians. There is another stone called Belus, found, according to Democritus, about Arbela, of the size of a walnut, and in the manner and form of glass."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* book xxxvii. chap. 10.

banks of the Altoun Sou, or Golden Water, which, to us, at this moment, seemed richly to deserve its name.

We entered the town of Altoun Kupree, or the Golden Bridge, so called from its having a fine lofty arch over the Altoun Sou, and never did repose and shelter seem to me more welcome. We had met large troops of Arab horsemen on the way, who seemed bound on some predatory expedition, though they did not molest us; and we exchanged salutes and inquiries with two Tartars from Bagdad, who were themselves escorted by a troop of Arab horse, from the same tribe as those we had met before, to guard them from expected enemies in the way. We had additional reason, therefore, to congratulate ourselves on a safe arrival, and this consideration gave increased sweetness to our repose.

When we were refreshed by a sleep of three or four hours, I procured a guide, and took a ramble on foot through the greater part of the town, for which there was yet time, as the hour of our departure was fixed at sun-set.

Altoun Kupree, or the Golden Bridge, consists of two separate portions or quarters, each

of them tolerably large, and each having their own separate bazārs and markets of supply. The Altoun Sou, or Golden Water, as the river is called, has two branches, one of which runs through each of the separate portions of this town; so that, on entering it from the one side, it is necessary to pass over a bridge; and, on quitting it by the other, to go out over a similar one, each of them being formed of a single arch, and both being steep, lofty, and wide. The united population of these two quarters of the town is estimated, by the inhabitants themselves, to exceed twenty thousand; but, from what I observed of the size and buildings of the place, I think the number could not be greater than six or seven thousand at most. These are chiefly Mohammedans, in equal proportions of Arabs and Turks; so that both these languages are well understood among them. The complexions and features of the people already began to wear a southern look, resembling those of the Arabs of Yemen much more than those of the upper parts of Syria. The dresses were like those of Mousul, chiefly light and gay-coloured shalloons and muslins, some of them indeed almost fantastic from their great variety of finery. I

observed here, for the first time, the short-trimmed beards, which are usually worn by the Arabs and Persians along the lower parts of the Euphrates, and in the provinces of Shooster and the low countries on the east of the Tigris.

The two branches of the Altoun Sou, which run through the town, are neither so wide, so deep, nor so rapid as the stream of Zerba to the northward. Its waters are, however, equally sweet and clear; and the rate of its current, at the present season, was somewhat less than four miles an hour, being fully equal to that of the Tigris. These branches were said to unite themselves just below the town, and go in one to the Tigris, being navigable all the way from hence to the point of its discharge into that river near the village of Kellek.

This stream is, no doubt, the Zabatus Minor of Xenophon, and the Caprus of Ptolemy;*

* This appears to be the same stream as that crossed by Rauwolff on his way from Bagdad to Mousul, as well as can be gathered from the distances on his route, and named by him in the following passage:—"After we had joined him, we went from thence on the fifth of January in a very handsome number, for the merchant alone had about fifty camels and asses, which were only loaden with gauls, with

and its latter appellation, as opposed to that of Lycus, given to the former on account of the fury or rapidity of its waters, may, as D'Anville suggests, be appropriately used to signify a stream less rapid in its course.*

Taking this for the Lesser Zab, and the Zerba for the greater one, according to the opinion of this writer, the town and fortress of Arbela is then seated just between these two streams, exactly in the position assigned

him to carry to Carahemit, (Kara Amid,) where he lived, and to send from thence to Aleppo, where they are bought by our merchants, to be sent into our country. So we travelled all day long, and also half the night, without eating or drinking, very fast, and began to rest about midnight. After we had for the remaining part of the night hardly refreshed our beasts and ourselves with eating and drinking a little, we broke up again before day-light, to go on in our way. When we were gone a good way through fruitful and pleasant valleys, we came betimes to another river, by Ptolemy called Caprus, which, although it is not very broad, yet it is very deep, so that we had much to do to get through, which I found not without a great detriment to my plants, which I carried on horseback before me."—p. 165.

* "Le petit Zab, nommé Caprus dans Ptolomée, ce que peut le faire croire moins precipité dans son cours que le Grand Zab, est appellé en langue Turque, qui est un dialecte Tartare, 'Altoun Sou,' signifiant 'Rivière d'Or.'"—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, pp. 89, 90.

to it by Ptolemy. The French geographer reproaches him with error in so doing, while he commits himself a greater one in attempting to correct the position given to it by this writer. Some of the Greeks, as we have seen, placed the town on the stream of the Lycus, or Greater Zab; and D'Anville seats it on the Caprus, or Lesser Zab, from both of which it is some distance ;* so that Ptolemy is therefore more correct than either in placing it between them.

It is not impossible but that these two branches of the Altoun Sou may represent the two Zabs, of which the Arabian geographer, Edrisi, speaks, and whose separation and subsequent union, as described by him, is denied by the French critic; for the description given

* "The Lesser Zab falls into the Tigris at Len or Assen: the Greater Zab, at Haditha, or thirty-six miles higher. They are large rivers, both together equal to half the Tigris. They are written indifferently Zaba, An-Zaba, or Diava, A-diava, both from דִּיבַח, Chaldaic, and זְאֵב, Zeeb, (Zab,) Hebrew, a wolf. Hence Λυκος, and Ptolemy's misnomer 'Leukus.'—*Schulter's Vita Saladini. Index Geog.* 'Fluvius Zabus.' It would have been as well if he had given us a good derivation of Kaprus. A wolf, a wild boar, and a tiger, are proper associates."—*Vincent's Commerce of the Ancients*, Diss. on the site of Opis, vol. i. p. 534. Note.

of it will apply with equal truth both to this stream and to the Hauzir Sou.

On our return to the house of the Aga, with whom the Tartars had put up, and which was in the southern quarter of the town, we found an excellent supper prepared for us, of which we all partook together in an open room, overlooking the stream from a height of fifty or sixty feet, and having full in view before us, to the eastward, the lofty mountains of Koordistan completely capped with snow. The prospect open to us, from the window of the room in which we sat, was altogether grand and picturesque, embracing a rich variety of objects and great extent of view. Though the rays of the setting sun were now burnishing the sheeted summits of these hills in the East, we had here in the low country a sultry and oppressive atmosphere; and, notwithstanding the plentiful supply of ice, which was served in bowls of sherbet at our table, the noise of running water below, and the sight of snow-clad mountains in the distance, we courted every breath of air, by fans and other artificial means, to cool us in this burning day.

It was partly in consideration of this op-

pressive weather, and partly on account of the roads being reported to be now much infested to the southward and along our path, that some thoughts were entertained by the Aga of the town, who held himself responsible for our safe passage through his territory, to send us down by the river from hence to Bagdad, on kelleks or rafts. This was a proposition embraced with great eagerness by all; and we began even to prepare for our cool trip by water, so sanguine were we in our hopes of ease and repose after the dislocating rides and scorching exposure that we had lately undergone. Our disappointment was, therefore, proportionately severe, when we learnt that, from some unusual interruption of the navigation, by the Yezeedis, along the banks of the Altoun Sou, and the eastern edge of the Tigris, there was now no passing by that way in safety.

These Yezeedis, as far as I could learn, were similar to those of Kellek, at the passage of the Zarba, who trace their descent from the mountains of Koordistan, and consider themselves as a distinct people from those of Sinjār, though, like them, they are

said to pay divine honours to the evil principle, as well as to the good.

It is observed, by the author of the Dissertation on the Tigris and the Euphrates, that the Ten Thousand Greeks, in their retreat under Xenophon, found on the eastern bank of the Tigris, between Nineveh and Babylon, and before seeing the city of Cœné or Senn, on the other bank, which is directly opposite to the point at which the lesser Zab discharges itself into the Tigris,* several villages belonging

* "Les Dix Milles, dans leur retraites, trouve sur la rive orientale du Tigre, qui borde ce même pays, (entre Nineve et Babylone,) et *avant* que d'avoir la vûe d'une ville sur l'autre rive, ce qui est Caené ou Caenn, (vis-à-vis de l'entrée du petit Zab dans le Tigre,) des villages du domaine de la Reine Parysatis, mère de Cyrus le jeune.—*Parysatidis pagi*, auxquels est ajouté *Yezdem domus*, c'est-à-dire, 'l'habitation des dieux.' Car le terme *Yezd*, propre à la divinité, est employé au pluriel dans *Yezdem*, comme en plusieurs autres idioms de l'Orient. Il peut même avoir lieu à l'égard des divinités infernales comme des celestes, dans une religion qui, comme le Magisme, admet deux principes, l'un du bien, l'autre du mal, sous les noms d'Horomaz et d'Arimane. Les races Kurdes, qui, en conservant l'ancienne religion des Persis, sont en horreur aux Mahométans, font profession de se menager la bienveillance du génie malfaisant, comme du contraire."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 96.

to the domain of the Queen Parysatis, the mother of the younger Cyrus.—*Parysatidis pagi*, to which is added, *Yezdem domus*, that is to say, "the habitation of the gods." This same writer goes on to observe, that as there are, among the Koordes, some who still preserve the ancient religion of the Parsis, and admit of honours to the evil principle, as well as to the good, this term of *Yezdem*, which is applied in the plural, may as well mean the infernal as the celestial divinities, and be applied to the habitations of either the one or the other.

It is true, that Yezdan, in the singular, means God; but, as it is applied in the plural here, it would scarcely be thought far-fetched, to interpret the expression of *Yezdem domus*, as the habitations of the Yezeedis, or worshippers of Yezdan, the peculiar name of God in their language; more particularly, as it is applied to several villages on the domain of an ancient Persian Queen, Parysatis, the mother of the younger Cyrus. If this be admitted, it will correspond with the actual, as well as the former, state of the country here; for we had ourselves seen a village of these Yezeedis, who trace their descent from the

Koords and ancient Persians, now guarding the pass of the greater Zab. By them, we were assured of there being other villages, peopled by Yezeedis, similar to themselves, both in their immediate neighbourhood, and between them and the lesser Zab.* Here, too, upon this last stream itself, we learnt that there were still other villages, scattered over the parts through which it passed, before it reached the Tigris; and that these were the very people who now interrupted the navigation of the stream, and prevented our descending to Bagdad on rafts by the river.†

* Of the Lesser Zab, Otter says: "Nous passames le 25, (Avril, 1734,) Altoun Soui, (the Golden Water,) qu' Ebul-Feda appelle Zab-al-asgar, c'est-à-dire, le petit Zab, quoiqu'il soit fort grand. Le Géographe Turc dit qu'il vient du pays de Diarbekr, et qu'il se jette dans le Tigre à un endroit nommé Tendge-Bogazi, où il y a des hauteurs, des arbres et des roseaux, qui servent de retraite aux lions. Le même prétend que la ville d'Açour étoit située au confluant du petit Zab et du Tigre; mais il n'en reste aucun vestige aujourd'hui."—Tome i. p. 149.

† Rauwolff speaks of the existence of this mode of conveyance in his day. "The thirtieth we went from thence, and about noon we came to a town called Presta, which is chiefly towards the river whereon it lieth, very well fortified, but what the inhabitants call that river I do not remember, but according to its situation, it must be that which Ptolemy called Gorgus, which runs below into the Tiger. In this

As we smoked our evening pipes with the Aga, and the principal residents of the town, who had collected imperceptibly, to inquire the news from the City of the Faith, or Islamboul, as Constantinople is called among the Mollahs and Muftis of the Turks, we were all alarmed by the passage through the town of a multitude of Arab horsemen, most of them so muffled up about the face, that their eyes could scarcely be seen, all of them armed with lances and swords, and most of them galloping by, without answering the questions put to them, or even returning the salute of peace. Neither the name, the station, nor the destination of these troops could at first be learned, until one of the sons of the Sheikh, who followed in the rear, alighted at the Aga's dwelling; by which we learnt, that it was a friendly tribe

place they make floats, which, although they are not very big, nor have much wood in them, yet they have abundance of bucks and goat skins blown up, hung, or fixed underneath the bottom, without doubt, by reason that they may load the more upon them, and also because the river is rapid, that they may have the less fear or danger. On these floats they carry several sorts of merchandizes, but chiefly fruit, viz. figs, almonds, cibebs, nuts, corn, wine, soap, &c. a great part whereof goeth farther into the Indies."—pp. 163, 164.

going out to the northward, on an expedition against another tribe, who had encroached on their rights, and were now indeed encamped on the eastern border of their territory.

As it was said by all, that advantage had been taken of this tumult, by robbers, who are never wanting here, to infest the roads with impunity, a guard of ten of this friendly tribe was solicited from the Sheikh's son, by the Aga, to protect us as far as the danger was thought to extend. This, the young lad, though still a boy of little more than fourteen years of age, had the authority to grant, and nothing could more plainly mark the high degree of respect in which the authority of Arab chiefs is held, than the promptitude with which at least a hundred horsemen assembled at the orders of this child. He himself now mounted a high blood mare; and his furniture being costly, and his dress and arms of the very best kind in use among the Arabs, nothing could be more interesting than the figure he made, as he galloped through the crowd of his own followers, poising his lance, and giving it the fine tremulous motion of which it is capable when well balanced, calling out to his tried men by name, and ordering

them to follow him as he rode.* All the Arabs are exceedingly fond of this display of horsemanship, and skilful management of arms; and it must be confessed, that when the animals are of a high cast, the accoutrements good, and the riders firmly possessed of their seat, there are few exhibitions which shew either the skill or vigour of the man, or the fire and the beauty of the horse, to greater advantage.

When the ten chosen guards were selected out for us, the young leader headed his troop and left us, to hasten towards the rest of the tribe whom we had met on their march in the morning. We prepared also to depart, and about nine o'clock we left the town of Altoun Kupree, going out over the southern bridge, and continuing our way in close order.

We went now on a course of south-east, over a generally level country, with detached patches of cultivation, and a few small villages

* This will remind the reader of Xenophon, of the description given by that beautiful writer of the youthful conduct and accomplishments of the elder Cyrus, who, at an age little exceeding that of the young Arab chief, was distinguished by equal skill in horsemanship, and by a degree of prudence which excited the wonder of the Median monarch.—See the *Cyropædia*, book i.

scattered in different directions near our road. We travelled in so complete a silence, that not a sound, except that of the tramping of our horses, was heard for several miles; and though we often set out on a gallop as if by one impulse, and drew up again together to ease the horses over bad ground, not a word was exchanged throughout our whole party; even midnight coming upon us, without a single voice having broken silence since our first setting out. Every one, indeed, seemed too intent on looking around him for an expected attack from enemies, to think of any thing beyond preparation for his own defence.

July 9th.—Soon after midnight, we came among ridges of stony hills, which, in some places, pointed up the sharp edges of their strata perpendicularly to the horizon, and in other places were of an undulating or wavy form in their outline.

We continued among these for about three hours, our rate of travelling being slower here, on account of the badness of the road, and on leaving them, we came out on a wide and level plain.

Here our Arab escort quitted us, as we

were considered to be clear of all the reported danger of the road ; they returned to overtake the rest of their tribe to the northward, and we continued our way more southerly over the plain, till we came at day-light to the town of Kerkook, having galloped about thirty-five miles since leaving Altoun Kupree, and in a general direction of south-south-east.

After reposing from the fatigues of the night, we all arose before noon, and I went out, as was my usual custom, with some one of the inhabitants as a guide, to see as much as I could of the town during our halt here. It is composed of three distinct portions, each of a considerable size.* In the principal one of these, is a high and extensive mound, artificially shaped on the inclined slope, like that of Arbela, before described. On this, stands a fortified town, rather than a castle, within the walls of which are included a great num-

* Rauwolff speaks of it thus : " After the Sabbath of the Jews, my companions, was over, we went on again, and came the twenty-sixth of December to Careuek, a glorious fine city, lying in a plain, in a very fertile country ; at four miles distance is another that lieth on an ascent, whither we also travelled, my companions having business in both of them, and so we spent two days in them before we were ready to go on again."—p. 162.

ber of dwellings, and the minarets of three mosques are seen to rise above the rest of the buildings from below. In this, it was said, none but Moslems were privileged to reside, and the number of these was considered to be five or six thousand, but probably overrated.

The second portion, though inferior, in consequence, as to the rank of those who reside in it, and its importance as a place of defence, is yet by far the most extensive and the most populous of the three. This is spread out on the plain around the foot of the citadel, as the elevated portion is called, and in it are the principal khans, coffee-houses, bazārs, &c.; though the minarets of only two mosques are seen, as the inhabitants are not all Mohammedan, but contain a mixture of Armenians, Nestorians, and Syrian Christians. The population of this portion amounts to about ten thousand souls, and the burying-ground below is as extensive, in the space which it covers, as a moderate-sized village.

The third portion is distant half a mile from the two former ones, and it was at a house in this that we had halted to sleep away the burning heat of the day. This is smaller and more scattered than either of the other parts

of the town, and cannot add more than a thousand to the gross number of the population of Kerkook, which may, therefore upon the whole, be nearly fifteen thousand.

This was the first place at which we had seen any trees since leaving Mousul, and here the date-tree was more numerous than any other. I heard a great deal, at this place, of the springs of naphtha, which are in the neighbourhood of Kerkook, and of the earth from which issues flames, which are both looked on by the inhabitants as prodigies, known nowhere else in the world, and marks of God's peculiar favour to their soil. They are said to be chiefly among the rocky hills through which we had passed at midnight on our way from Altoun Kupree to this place, so that I had no opportunity of seeing them.

In the examination of the countries bordering on the Tigris and Euphrates, after passing the Zab, and still speaking of the course of the latter towards the sea, D'Anville says, the country adjoining to the left or eastern bank is called Garm, in which he thinks it is plain to discover that of Garamæi, which is the name of a country placed by Ptolemy in Assyria, near the middle of its whole extent from north to

south.* In my inquiries after this name, I could gain no satisfactory assurance of its being applied to the country here, though those of whom I made such inquiries could only inform me of what was popularly known, and knew nothing of history or geography. It is probable, however, that the Kark, or Carcha, of Ammianus Marcellinus, and Simocattus, was the present Kark, near Samarra, on the banks of the Tigris, to the southward of this; and that the Carcha nearer to Nineveh, spoken of by Masius and Ortelius, from which the former was distinct, was the present Kerkook, which is generally thought to be the Demetrias of Strabo, and the Corcura of Pto-

* "Le pays adjacent à la rive gauche, ou orientale, est appellé *Garm*, et ce nom conserve evidemment celui de *Garamœi*, que Ptolomée place dans l'Assyrie, vers le milieu de son étendue du nord au midi. Dans M. Assemani, Garm est un district dependant de Maphrein, residant à Tekrit, et il est fait mention d'un metropolitain de Garm—cette metropole est appellé *Beth so loee* (sive Seleuciæ) autrement Kark; et Carcha, dans le recit de la marche de Jovien, par Ammien; Carcha dans Simocatte, dont la leçon est préférable, et qui se lit de même à l'egard d'une ville située egalement en Assyrie, mais voisine de Ninive, comme il en est parlé dans Masius, *in libro Mosis de Paradiso*, et dont Ortelius fait mention."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 95.

lemy. The three divisions of the town as it now stands are, however, large enough to admit a belief that it might have been a metropolitan see in later times, and have given its name to the district in earlier ones, if it be still thought to be the Garm of Assemani, as it is still the largest town throughout the plains to the east of the Tigris; while, on the other hand, the appearance of its castle, seated on an elevated mound, is sufficient to induce a belief of its having been always a fortified post of some importance, and with equal probability a military station of the Romans during the existence of their power here. At all events, little doubt can remain of this Kerkook being the place intended to be identified with these ancient stations by the French geographer, on a comparison of the details which he gives of its local features with those which actually exist near this spot.*

* "Dans le voisinage de cette ville, il sort des rochers, de l'huile de napthe, qui est reçue dans un espèce de puits; et je trouve dans une relation manuscrite d'un voyage au Levant par le Père Emanuel de St. Albert, visiteur des Missions de son ordre des Carmes, et depuis Evêque *in partibus*, qu'en remuant la terre aux environs, il en sort des bluettes. On lit dans la Géographie Turque, qu'en creusant la terre sur un tertre appellé Khor-kour-baba, il

Tibullus, in his Elegies,* speaks of the territory of Erec, one of the cities founded by Nimrod on the banks of the Tigris, and in the land of Shinar, as producing springs of naphtha, which the poet calls the "combustible waters of the land of Erec," alluding, probably, to some known account in his own time of these springs, as the geography of Babylonia and Assyria must have been always popularly known to the learned among the Romans, after the histories of Alexander's expedition into the East were written.†

On my return to the house at which the Tartars had put up, I found a large party assembled, who seemed to derive great enter-

en sort du feu qui fait faire flamme, et que des vases posés dans des trous, qu'on y voie, bouillir l'eau dont en les a remplis; en ajoutant, qu'on éteint la chaleur de ces trous en les comblant de terre."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 107.

* Lib. iv. Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tome xxvii. p. 30.

† Naphtha is mentioned as abounding in Babylonia, and was said to run in the manner of liquid bitumen. The affinity between it and fire is insisted on, and it was thus, says Pliny, that Medea burnt her husband's concubine. Her girdle, being anointed by it, was caught by the fire when she approached the altars to sacrifice.—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* book ii. c. 105.

tainment from the antics of a dancing bear. This was a large white shaggy animal, which had been brought by the Koords, who exhibited it, from the snow-clad mountains of their own country, at a distance of four days' journey to the eastward. They said that these animals were very rare among their hills, and the liberality with which the spectators rewarded their shewing it, seemed to imply that it was a creature still less frequently seen here.*

From the report of my guide, corrected by some confronting testimonies of others whom I questioned on the same subject, I learnt that there were, in each of the three portions of which Kerkook is composed, ten mosques, twenty-four coffee-houses, ten khans, and two public baths; and that the number of Christian places of worship, of different sects, was either four or five. The town is subject to the Pasha of Bagdad, and its environs are sufficiently productive to yield him a respectable tribute. The governor is one

* Wild beasts of almost all the larger species were found in this country in the time of the elder Cyrus; and the hunting of them formed an important part of the education of the princes and nobles of Persia.—*Cyropædia*, book i.

of his own immediate dependants, and attached to him are just a sufficient number of soldiers only to form a body-guard for his personal defence.

CHAPTER V.

WALLED TOWN OF KUFFREE,

AT THE FOOT OF A RANGE OF HILLS.

CHAPTER V.

FROM KERKOOK, BY KIFFREE, TO KARA TUPPE, OR THE BLACK HILL.

When the Tartars had partaken of a hearty meal, and lounged away an hour over their pipes, we prepared again to depart, though the heat of the day, to avoid which was the alleged cause of our long halt here, instead of having subsided, was now at its greatest height. There was no persuading my companions to this, however, so that we saddled our horses and mounted, and at three o'clock set out from Kerkook.

Our course went now to the southward, over a country that was generally waste and uncultivated, and on the south-east of us was an extensive plain, the horizon of which was as boundless as that of the sea, and to the east and north-east the view terminated in the hills of Koordistan.

At sun-set, having gone about eighteen or twenty miles, we came among a number of gardens, with watch-towers dispersed over them, and a small hamlet near; and before midnight, by which time we had gone about ten miles more, we came to the village of Taook, having passed no stream throughout our way, though one of the branches of the Lesser Zab is there laid down by Major Macdonald Kinneir.

This place, from as much as we could observe of it at this hour of the night, appeared to be large; I noticed three mosques, with minarets, and a number of houses, built of ancient bricks. At the entrance of the town, was a Mohammedan tomb of a very singular construction. Its base was a square, on which was raised a dome, not of the usual shape, but pointed like a sugar-loaf, and formed of a chequered open work of bricks, resembling the pyramidal form, in which cakes of soap are sometimes piled up in perfumers' shops, with their ends only resting on each other, and the interstices hollow.

We were entertained at this place with a good supper; changed horses with less noise and bustle than we had any where yet done;

and being furnished with another escort of five Arab horsemen for the way, we departed about midnight, observing, as we went out of the town, a tall isolated minaret, with a square base and circular tower, like the pedestal and shaft of a large column.

JULY 10th.—On leaving Taook, we continued our course still southerly, over a desert country, which was often pebbly, and destitute of cultivable soil, but never loose or sandy.

We next came to a ground of gravel and clay, and passed in sight of some small villages scattered near our route, when, at sunrise, after a ride of about twenty miles, we entered the town of Koolmāty.

This is a large place, stretching itself along the eastern foot of a range of barren hills; the whole town, however, lying in the midst of gardens, plantations of date-trees, and cultivated patches of land. There were three or four mosques, and some good dwelling-houses, a market abundantly supplied with fruit, and springs of excellent water.

We were entertained at the house of the Aga, or governor of the town, where it is usual, when there is no good caravanserai, for

between the Tartars and keepers of the post-horses, at this station; the latter insisting that they could not furnish us with animals until some should return this way from Bagdad. Under this impression, the youngest of the Tartars, Ali, with Suliman the merchant, and myself, composed ourselves quietly to rest, in the firm assurance and belief, that whatever could be done by bullying, would be securely effected by the hoarse voice, the thick whip, and the lordly air of Jonas; and that, if horses were to be had, we should be furnished with them through his influence, without any exertions of our own.

When we awoke in the morning, however, after enjoying an undisturbed sleep, without the din of voices to rouse us as usual, the extraordinary silence and tranquillity was soon accounted for by our being told, that Jonas had left us alone to our fate. We regarded each other with a mixture of surprise, incredulity, and vexation; but it was too true to be any longer doubted; for the noisy little Tartar having found that only one horse could be procured, had silently secured this for himself before it quitted the stable, and had gone off alone, at midnight, to convey to the British

Resident the news of our being on the way, but leaving the public packets and baggage with which he was charged, to be brought after him by Ali, his companion, abandoning Suliman and myself, by each of whom he had been paid a good round sum for taking us under his protection, to find our way to Bagdad in the best manner we could.

It may be remarked, with regard to the practice of travelling with government Tartars, that the only reason of its being resorted to, is the impossibility of otherwise procuring relays of horses on the road. In each of the stages, between the great towns of the Turkish Empire, but more particularly in those on the direct road, between Constantinople and Bagdad, there are certain persons, who contract with the government, to supply the couriers with horses from that stage to the next. These, however, keep no greater number than is just barely necessary to fulfil their contract, and these mostly of an inferior kind, and in wretched condition; since the contract is always a losing one to the parties furnishing the horses, and is generally forced on them by the government, as one among many other modes of exacting tribute. A person travel-

ling alone could, therefore, procure no horses on hire at any of these stages, none being usually kept for that purpose. To travel on one's own horse with a caravan, is insupportably tedious to any person in haste, and to proceed either safely or expeditiously alone, that is, without the protection either of a caravan or couriers, is quite impracticable. It is, therefore, usual for all travellers who are in haste, to apply to a Tartar going on the road, and to pay him a certain sum of money for the whole journey. The traveller, for this compensation, is provided with a horse at every stage, and both his provisions and presents to servants are all furnished by the Tartar. The only thing necessary for him to take on such a journey, is his own saddle and bridle, portmanteau, whip, and leathern bottle for water. Every thing else may be had on the road, if the mode of living common to the country be adopted; but neither the articles of table-furniture, wine, tea, or other comforts of travelling in Europe, will be found. The best line of conduct to be pursued towards these men is, according to the testimonies of most persons who have travelled with them, a proud and haughty demeanour, and a gene-

ral seriousness and reserve. There are no class of people who domineer more readily, or with more vulgar insolence, over those whom they have in their power, than these Tartars; but, like most braggadocios, they are soon made to yield to a manly and persevering firmness of resistance to their encroachments.

But to return—Ali, Suliman, and myself, were now left here, without an immediate prospect of our being able to procure any animals to proceed. Like good Moslems, we consoled each other with the belief that our detention was written in the Book of Fate, and could not be avoided, although neither of my companions failed to invoke curses on the head of the treacherous Jonas, as the instrument of this infliction; but, unwilling to dwell on what could not be remedied, we ordered the best dinner that the place could afford, and sent out our mandate, as persons in authority, to invite all who would come to partake of our hospitality.

We had scarcely sat down, before there arrived a Tartar from Bagdad, bringing under his charge two Europeans, both dressed as Tartars, and bound to Constantinople. They arrived so opportunely, that we made them

joint partakers of our feast; and the two gentlemen, who were but yet in the commencement of their journey, being well provided with cordials and spirits for their own use, we assisted to drain, notwithstanding the heat of the weather and the presence of some of the Faithful, their travelling cases of a portion of the fine French brandy and excellent Ratafia with which they were furnished. The notion of these travellers, that in the dog-days cordials were necessary to repair the exhaustion of animal heat and strength, justified this course in the eyes of the one party, and the bumpers swallowed by Ali and Suliman, to the curse of Jonas who had deserted us in our utmost need, warranted the otherwise forbidden draught in the eyes of the other.

Over our afternoon pipes, and while the Turks beside us were sleeping away the heat of the day, I began to learn more of my companions, who had thus suddenly come upon us, and who now very agreeably relieved the tedium of our detention. Both of them were Italians; the eldest, named Padre Camilla di Jesu, was a friar of the Carmelite order, who had been many years resident at Bagdad, and was now returning to Rome, by way of Constantinople; the

other was a young man who had gone originally from Italy to Constantinople, where he had resided some time with his father, a merchant of that city. Having heard, from some of the distant traders with whom his father corresponded, of the fame of Damascus, he solicited permission to make a journey to that city, and it was granted to him, under the hope of his being able to transact some useful business there, at the same time that he gratified his curiosity. The most singular part of the history of this young man's travels was, however, that he went from Constantinople to Alexandria in Egypt, believing that to be the straightest and shortest road to Damascus; and, after landing there, he went up to Cairo by the Nile, under an impression that that city was also in the direct road to the place of his destination. When he had at length reached Damascus, by this circuitous route, having gone from Cairo to Jerusalem by the Desert of Suez, one would have thought that the recollection of this error would have taught him to make more careful inquiries regarding the relative positions of places he might have to visit in future. But it appears he never did discover that he had not come by

the nearest way, believing always, on the contrary, that his voyage to Alexandria by sea, and his journey from Cairo to Damascus by land, had been in nearly a straight line. It was thus, that when he was about to leave Damascus, on his return to Constantinople, having heard of great caravans going from the former place to Bagdad every year, and being aware of others coming also from Bagdad to Constantinople in about the same period of time, he conceived that these caravans must be the same; and concluding from this that Bagdad lay in his direct road home he had actually journeyed from Damascus to that place over the Syrian Desert, in the hottest season of the year, without ever once asking, during the whole forty days of his route, in which direction Constantinople lay!

The whole of this was narrated to me with such an apparent unconsciousness of its absurdity, that, incredulous as I was at first, as to such ignorance being possible, I was at length compelled to believe it really to have happened as described, especially when I heard this young man affirm his conviction, that the distance from Constantinople to Bagdad, by the way of Cairo and Damascus, could not be

less than fifty thousand miles; while that between Bagdad and Constantinople, by the way he was now returning, could not exceed five hundred; adding that, for his part, he could not conceive why the longer route was ever taken, since it was as disagreeable as it was distant; but, at the same time, shrewdly suggesting that there might be reasons for this course, known only to Him from whom no secrets are hid!

About midnight, the Tartar, who was taking these travellers from Bagdad to Constantinople, being obliged to proceed with the horses on which they had arrived here, gave orders for departure, and the animals being very promptly saddled, and the water-bottles filled, our companions left us, with mutual salutations, benedictions, and regrets.

July 12th.—As no hope of a release from our detention at this place yet presented itself, we strolled about the town, and lounged at the coffee-house with as much resignation as was practicable, though without the same sources of entertainment which we possessed on the preceding day to dissipate our cares.

The town of Kufree, or Kiffree, is seated

on a plain, at the termination of the line of bare hills, described on our way from Baiaat to this place, and extending throughout the whole distance between them. The town is moderately large, and is enclosed within a wall, which, as well as the buildings within its enclosure, is constructed of mud, hardened by pebbles being imbedded in it. There is a stream of clear water which runs within the wall, on the east; and this is distributed by small canals through the central parts of the town, contributing to the cleanliness of the place, and the convenience of its inhabitants. The wall of the town, near which this stream begins to run, has a high parapet, or breast-work, pierced with loop-holes for musketry; and the platform of this is ascended to by narrow flights of steps, but there were no cannon planted in any part of it.

The bazārs are very mean in appearance, though they are furnished with a sufficiency of provisions, and particularly with excellent fruit, among which melons and grapes are the best and most abundant.

There is a good cook-shop, at which kabaubs, or roasted meat and sausages, can be procured; and though there is only one

coffee-house in the place, this is adequate to the supply of all the idlers and passengers through the town.

The caravanserai at which we put up, during our detention here, was like the one described at Baiaat, in the general style of its architecture, which was purely Turkish. It consisted of many apartments, some of them having fire-places in the walls, like European chimneys; others, with benches and niches, or recesses, for the accommodation of travellers, and all ornamented and vaulted, in the Turkish rather than the Arabic manner.

It is remarkable, that though all the arches in the caravanserai and coffee-house are pointed in the Saracenic form, with concave or hollow parts beneath them, all those seen in the other buildings of this town are of a different kind: some of these are round arches, of the pure semi-circular Roman shape; others are the flattened segment of a circle, approaching to the Saxon form; and others again have a broad indentation in the centre of a flat arch, like those described in the mosque of Ibrahim el Khaleel, at Orfah; all apparently constructed without regard to any

fixed rule, just as the caprice of the architect directed.

The language, features, and complexions of the inhabitants are chiefly Turkish. This circumstance, added to the fact of the caravanserai here, and at the last station, being of Turkish architecture, renders it probable, that the first settlement of many of these smaller places, as villages, was the erection of a post-house, or konauk, for the couriers between Constantinople and Bagdad, when this last became the distant frontier town of the Turkish empire; and that villages of Turks have since grown up progressively around these halting-places. This would sufficiently account for their being placed at stated and equal distances from each other, while all the rest of the country between them is desert and unpeopled; as well as for the great predominance of Turkish features, and the preservation of the Turkish language, in these places, lying in the great post-route, though they are bordered on the one side by Arabs and on the other by Koords.

There are a few gardens, with date and other fruit trees, here; and in walking in one

of them I observed myriads of insects, of the genus Coccinella, all seemingly regaling themselves on the Aphides, or plant-lice, which are said to be their favourite food; they covered the leaves of all the lower shrubs, in countless multitudes. They were of the species that have red shells with black spots; though the spots were in many of them not very distinct, and they frequently went in pairs, attached together by their tails. Some pieces of clouded marble were brought to me in the course of the day, as stone from the neighbouring range of hills. These were all the natural curiosities, if these could so be called, which the place produced, excepting the large storks, "Hadjee Lug Lug," which had their nests on almost every house in the town.

On every part of our road from Mousul to this place, we had seen, for the last five days, the beautiful bird, called Syren by the French, and War-War by the Arabs; but here, probably on account of the great heat, we lost sight of them altogether. From the same cause, also, fleas, which had hitherto abounded in our route, had now entirely disappeared; though more offensive vermin were still seen on every carpet and cushion on which we

could venture to recline. The heat was, indeed, intense, the thermometer being from 120° at noon to 125° at three hours after meridian, so that even the people of the country were oppressed by it. The wind was south-west blowing from the Desert, and in very light airs ; and persons residing here, who had been often at Bussorah and Bagdad, complained of the sultry air and suffocating blasts of hot wind, as being equal to those of the worst seasons at these respective cities.

As our detention began to be generally known and commiserated, we were invited, after the prayers of El Assr, to the house of a certain Hadjee Habeeb, who wished to learn the particulars of our being abandoned, and expressed an intention of assisting us out of our difficulty. As we proceeded to his abode, Suliman began to entertain an idea that this pilgrim might be a particular friend of his, of the same name, and when they met, this was verified by their embracing each other. We now learnt that the Hadjee had himself come thus far from Bagdad with a small caravan of merchandize, and this being now disposed of, he was homeward-bound with the returns of his speculation, which were to be carried back

on the same animals, the beasts and their lading all belonging to himself. Our difficulties, as to further progress, were now at once removed. By increasing the lading of some of his mules, and making his servants dismount from others, to ride and walk by turns, a horse and two mules were set at liberty for the use of Ali, Suliman, and myself. The horse was given to me, as the greatest stranger of the party, it being known to all that I came from Egypt; and though the Tartar, Ali, had not only the self-regard to ask it for himself, but the effrontery to demand it as a right, he being the Sultan's messenger, yet no entreaties of mine could prevail on the young Suliman, for whose sake alone we had obtained these animals, to take the horse, and permit me to ride the mule. The laws of hospitality, he said, forbade it, and he was on this point quite immovable.

At sun-set, a grave and formal party was assembled at the Hadjee's place of halt, consisting of a sleek and full-bearded Moollah, and some of the chief elders of the town. Here, most of the party prayed, Ali and myself being the only ones who did not join; at which the Moollah was not a little scandalized.

From hence we retired to the bank of the stream, which ran through the town, and partook of an excellent supper given by the Hadjee to all his dependants, including two dervishes, who had become permanent hangers-on in his train. We were then summoned to mount, and about two hours after sun-set proceeded on our way; the whole party consisting of six horses, and about fifty mules and asses, besides two Tartars from Mousul, who had just joined us as we were setting out, and who rode the same horses which they had brought from their last stage.

July 13th.—Our course, during the night, had been nearly south, and the whole of our road lay over a level and desert plain; when, after six hours of easy travelling, at the rate of about three miles an hour, we entered the town of Kara Tuppé, or the Black Hill, which that name, in Turkish, implies.

While the Tartars, and those who had charge of the laden animals, went to alight at the public khan, a new mosque, which stood just at the entrance of the village, was selected for our place of halt; it being suggested, by the Moollah, who had come with us from

Kiffree, that within the building there would be good accommodation for ourselves, and in the court an excellent place for our horses. We accordingly alighted, and after formal prayers, led by the Moollah himself, as Imaum, at the head of the party, we took care of our animals, and all lay down to sleep.

On awaking, which was long after the sun had risen, I found near me an old white-bearded Sheikh, the priest and schoolmaster of the village, who was surrounded by about twenty pupils, all reading loudly the different portions of the Koran assigned to them as their tasks. The book, from which they were reading, was in Arabic; but the language of their conversation with each other, as well as the features and complexions of all, was still Turkish, and sufficiently bespoke their origin. The old Sheikh was very communicative; and as he pressed his inquiries on me with great earnestness, I answered them with readiness and freedom. The sun growing insupportably powerful, even soon after the day dawned, some of the young scholars were despatched by their master to procure the cooling breakfast of raw sliced cucumbers steeped in sour milk, which, however little known among

the epicures of Europe, is here a choice and favourite dish. This was set before me by the Sheikh himself; and, little as it was to my taste, we finished it between us. This same old man, who was priest of the mosque, spread out my carpet within the sacred precincts without a scruple, although, by this time, he knew, from my frank communications with him, that I was not a Moslem; and I retired into the most shady part of the building to enjoy a second nap, the whole of my tired companions being still soundly asleep.

When the grave elders of our travelling party awoke, and began to arrange themselves in a line, with the sleek Moollah at their head, for noon-day prayers, this holy and well-fed expounder of the law, on seeing me reposing on the ground near him, started back, as a Pharisee would have shrunk from a Publican, a Jew from a Samaritan, or a Brahmin from the polluting touch of a Pariah. Strong objections were now raised by the Moollah, the Hadjee Habeeb, and two others of the party, to my remaining within the temple, and their prayers were consequently interrupted. The priest of the mosque, the young Suliman, and another of our companions, whom I had made

my friend, by telling him long and entertaining stories on the road, all contended, however, for my not being disturbed from the spot where I lay. I was awake during the whole of this strife between fanaticism and hospitality; but I continued to remain quiet, and apparently still asleep, from a conviction, that any thing which I could do or say would rather inflame and irritate than calm the contention.

My friends ultimately prevailed; and the others, after a great deal of murmuring, at length went on with their devotions, though they all removed from near me, where they had just ranged themselves, to the other extremity of the mosque, in order to avoid the contamination of an infidel.

Our afternoon was lounged away, without my seeing much of the town of Kara Tuppé. It appeared to me, to be hardly more than half the size of Kiffree, and the population still less in proportion; that of Kiffree being estimated at three thousand, while the inhabitants of this are thought not to exceed one thousand. The appearance and language of the people are as decidedly Turkish as the

name of the place itself, and all seemed to confirm the opinion already expressed as to the common origin and progress of these halting-stations on the road.

CHAPTER VI.

ROCKY DEFILE BETWEEN KARA TUPPEE AND DELHI ABASS.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM KARA TUPPE, BY DELHI ABASS, TO BAGDAD.

In the evening, when we prepared to mount, we began to feel the effects of the Hadjee-Habeeb's displeasure, though his revenge was, as we all believed, rather at the suggestion of the offended Moollah, than from the dictates of his own more benevolent heart. My long-story-loving friend was "sent to Coventry," for his open espousal of my cause. The horse I had originally mounted was now given to one of the Hadjee's servants, and I was set on a heavily-laden mule; while the unladen animal, on which Suliman had ridden thus far, was transferred to another individual, and he was set on one carrying melons in panniers.

It was in this order that we set out soon

after sun-set, kept at a distance by the heads of the party, and held in derision by the rest. Our course was south-west, over a barren plain: two hours after our setting out, we passed a square enclosure on our left, apparently a deserted khan; and at midnight, we came to a deep ditch, filled with bitter and brackish water.

July 14th.—Just beyond this, we began to ascend over a high and rugged range of sandstone hills, which crossed the road at right angles, and extended widely over the plain. We were full two hours before we got clear of this pass, in which gutters or paths have been formed by the constant passage of animals, and these are now worn to a depth that renders them dangerous, except to the surer-footed beasts. We continued still on the same course of south-west until an hour after sun-rise, when, having travelled on the whole about thirty miles, we reached the station of Delhi Abāss.

We passed no stream, nor even the bed of one, in our way from Kara Tuppé thus far; for the ditch, to which we came at midnight, having bitter and brackish water in it, was

crossed by a bridge of a few planks, and was not ten yards wide. In the map of Macdonald Kinneir, the Odorneh, or the Phuskus, is made to pass from the north-eastward into the Tigris, and to intercept the road, just midway between these two stations; but, in this, there must be some error, as the river he speaks of was a very considerable one. In the memoir, accompanying the map, this writer says, "The Odorneh, (supposed, by some authors, to be the Phuskus of Xenophon,) is formed by the junction of many streams, which arise in hills between Kerkook and Solymania. It pursues a south-west course, and falls into the Tigris, twenty fursungs above Bagdad. I crossed the Odorneh," he continues, "at the village of Tooz Khoorma, forty-five leagues from Bagdad, on the road to Mousul. The bed of the river was about sixty yards in breadth, and in the spring it contains a great body of water."*

On referring to the map, it is seen that the Touz Kourma, mentioned as the place of crossing, is at the very head of the stream, and a long way to the eastward of the direct road from Bagdad to Mousul; whereas, Tour Khoorma, which I suspect to be the same

* Geographical Memoir on the Persian Empire, p. 297. 4to.

place, and that at which the traveller supposed he crossed this river on the road to Mousul, is laid down on the branch of another stream between Kufree and Taook, which, from its inconsiderable size, has no name given to it. I cannot omit to mention, however, that beween Taook and Kufree I neither observed any such stream, nor did we pass through any place called "Touz Kourma," which is seated, by Major Macdonald Kinneir, on a river sixty yards wide, and made by him the boundary of division between the fertile, populous, and picturesque country to the north, and the barren, deserted, and naked country to the south of it. It must, therefore, be to the eastward of the track by which we came, and not in the direct road, if such be its features; or if it be the Tour Khoorma in the straight route, then these features of it cannot be accurate.

At Delhi Abāss, we found a river running close to the south of the village, and going towards the south-west. It was not fordable in any part, even at this advanced period of the dry season, but was so broad as to be crossed by a brick-built bridge of four pointed arches. The source of this stream was said

to be several days' journey to the eastward, among the mountains of Koordistan, and it here bent its way towards the Tigris in a west-south-west direction. Though this stream is broader, deeper, and of a longer course, than the Jordan of Palestine above the Lake of Tiberias, yet it did not, according to the report of persons living here, reach the banks of the Tigris at all, being entirely exhausted by canals, which drained off its waters for the cultivation of the land around it. I did not readily credit this statement, though I could find no one who positively knew of its junction with the Tigris, while all contended that it did not reach that stream; but the size of the river, and the large body of water it even now contained, justified, as I thought, some incredulity on this point.

As this was the most considerable stream, next to the Greater and Lesser Zab, that we had met with since crossing the Tigris at Mousul, it may, perhaps, be assumed to be that of the Physcus, or Odorneh, of the ancients. In a Memoir on the Expedition of Heraclius into Persia, and the flight of Chosroes from his palace at Dastagherd, by which this expedition was terminated, the author

says, "When Heraclius had crossed the Tigris at Mousul, he passed, in succession, the rivers of the Greater and the Lesser Zab, and a third river named Torneh."* This is conceived, from the resemblance of names, to have been the same as the Tornadotum of Pliny, who, when speaking of an Antiochia, thought to be the Opis of Xenophon and Strabo, says, it is seated between two rivers, "*inter duo flumina, Tigrim et Tornadotum.*" A river, called by Tavernier "Odorne," by D'Anville, "Odorneh," by Xenophon, "Physcus,"† and by Ptolemy, "Gorgus," and thought to be but one stream under these many names, is assumed to be this Tornadotum of Pliny, and the Torneh crossed by Heraclius after his passage of the Tigris and the Greater and Lesser Zab. For myself, I inquired of the few passengers and stationary people here, what was the name by which this stream was known

* Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

† According to the map constructed from the details of the Anabasis, the Physcus fell into the Tigris considerably below the site of Bagdad. It was sixty miles to the northward of the place where the Greeks crossed the Tigris, and was a hundred feet broad. Opis stood on its northern bank.—*Anabasis*, book ii.

among the people of the country ; but I could obtain no other answer from either Turks or Arabs, than that by some it was called " the river," by others, " the brook," and by others, " the water " of Delhi Abāss. My informers were, however, in general so ignorant and indifferent to every thing about them, that I was not likely to obtain any more accurate information regarding the name, than I was respecting the course and ultimate disappearance of the stream. Its position, as the third in order after passing the Tigris, in a march directed this way, is probably a more accurate guide than a resemblance of name only, unsupported by other points of coincidence.

It is true, that in the description given by Aristagoras of the royal road from Sardis to Susa, as preserved to us by Herodotus, after enumerating the Tigris and the Greater and Lesser Zab as three of the rivers to be passed in the way, the fourth is called by him the Gyndes. This is the celebrated stream which was divided by Cyrus into three hundred and sixty channels, to revenge himself on it, as it was said, for the death of one of the sacred horses, which was carried away by its waters. But the able Illustrator of the Geography of

Herodotus has proved that either Aristagoras himself, or the historian who preserves his details of the road, have confounded this stream with the Mendeli, farther to the eastward, and in the province of Susiana, the fact of Cyrus's division of which was popularly known and accredited.*

The city of Opis is generally admitted to have been near the confluence of the Physcus with the Tigris. It is so placed by both Xenophon and Pliny, and by the latter of these it is also spoken of under the name of Antiochia, which, as we have seen, was given to numerous cities of the East. Herodotus, however, places it below the confluence of the Gyndes with the Tigris, which is the same thing; considering this to have been the name given to the third river after passing the Tigris, by Aristagoras, whose description of that part of the country he had before been quoting.

After all, it may be said, that though this, the third river from the crossing of the Tigris, would answer to the Physcus of Xenophon, the Gyndes of Aristagoras, and the Tornado-

* See Rennell's Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus, 4to.

tum of Pliny, or the Torneh passed by Heraclius in his approach to the Persian palace, if the route of march lay close along the eastern banks of the Tigris; yet, that it might not have been crossed at all, either on Aristagoras's road to Susa, or that of Heraclius to Dastagherd, supposing the line of march to have led further east, and the source of this stream to have been left a little on the right. The Diala would then have been the stream meant, as both D'Anville and Rennell agree, though their opinions were evidently formed without any knowledge of the existence of this stream at Delhi Abāss.

The country all around us appeared to be one wide desert of sandy and barren soil, thinly scattered over with brushwood and tufts of reedy grass.

The bare and stony ridge of hills, through the pass of which we had come on the preceding night, intercepted the horizon in the north-east, and a lofty range of very distant mountains bounded the view in the south-east; but in every other quarter of the compass, the prospect was like that of a level and unbroken sea.

We had seen no settlement of pure Arabs

throughout our way, since leaving Mousul, until now; the tribe of Arab horsemen, whom we met at Altoun Kupree, being on an expedition, and the people resident in the towns being mostly Turks, or Koords. Here, however, at this small village of Delhi Abāss, the features, the complexion, the language, and the habits and manners of the people, were all purely Arabian, and that too of the Bedouin, or Desert, rather than the Fellah, or cultivating class. By some of these, who were now encamped in brown hair tents, and fed their flocks on the thorny shrubs near the stream, I was assured that the nearest part of the Tigris was three days' journey, for a man on foot, from Kara Tuppé, and two days' journey from this place. By this estimate it could not be less than forty miles from hence, though this is a much greater space than is marked in the map; and the circuit made by the couriers to the eastward, instead of coming in a straight line from Mousul to Bagdad, is no doubt for the sake of passing through the towns in the way, and halting at the stations, fixed at convenient distances, and furnished with water and provisions.

The whole number of families permanently

resident at this small station of Delhi Abāss, does not usually exceed twenty; so that our supplies, except of milk from the goats of the Bedouins near, were very scanty, and no horses could, of course, be procured. We were, therefore, obliged to proceed on the same laden animals which had borne us thus far; and each of us who were in disfavour, namely, Suliman, Ali, and myself, were obliged to load our own beasts before we mounted them.

The very hottest part of the day was now chosen for setting out, just after the prayers of El Assr, or between three and four o'clock; and the scorching power of the sun was even a smaller evil than the parching and suffocating heat of a Simoom wind, which came in furnace-like blasts from the western Desert. Even when reposing in the shade, without garments, catching every breath of air by sitting in its current, and furnished with a fan in one hand and a jug of water in the other, it was still insupportably hot, and every part of the body, even in this state of rest, streamed with the effects of the heat. But to load a refractory animal with a very heavy burden, and without the assistance of any one even to hold his head by a halter, was, as may be

imagined, not a very cool or agreeable occupation. I exerted myself, however, with a strength increased by vexation at the indignity thus put upon us all; and, fortunately, a proud determination not to sink under it, bore me through all my labour. I was, however, in such a burning state of fever, and so completely exhausted by the time I had buckled the last girth of my mule, that I was much more ready to stretch myself along upon the earth, than either to mount and ride, or continue the journey on foot beside the beast I had laden. The faithful Suliman, who continued to adhere to me to the last, cheered me, as he passed on a higher and better animal, with the prospect that Bagdad was not now far off, and I regained my spirits and my strength. But, before we finally started, I went down to the edge of the river, and stripping off all my garments, dipped my shirt in the water, and put it on, unwrung, and in a streaming state. I did the same by all my other garments, even to the skull-cap, my head being close shaved; and, beneath the folds of my turban, I wound a long cotton towel, wetted in the same manner, my whole dress thus containing several quarts of water.

In this state I quitted Delhi Abass, in company with the same party, going out over a bridge of four arches, an old Mohammedan work fast falling to decay, and pursuing a south-westerly direction across the plain. The country was mostly desert, though intersected by canals, some full and others dry. It continued all the way to be intensely hot, so that the richest of our party carried large and thick parasols, and the poorest defended themselves from the sun in the best way they could, by doubling the folds of their cloaks and other thick garments over their heads. The skin of my face and lips was cracked and split by the dry and parching heat, and my eyes were so swollen, reddened, and inflamed, that it was painful even to keep them open. Notwithstanding the precaution I had taken before setting out, of saturating the whole of my garments with water, the evaporation was so great, that the innermost of them was completely dry at sun-set. After this, the air became less oppressive, though it still continued to be hot, even until midnight.

July 15th.—We continued our even course over the plain, without once varying the direc-

tion, passing a square enclosure, and a small village about midnight, and at day-break, opening a view of a country exactly like Lower Egypt. On the level plain, which now spread itself on all sides, were seen, in different quarters of the horizon, groves of palm-trees, each forming a separate cluster apart from the others, and each marking the place of a separate village. The soil was highly fertile, having already yielded its harvest of the present year, and the plain was intersected by one large canal, with several smaller ones branching off from it, all of which strengthened its resemblance to the lands on the banks of the Nile.

It was just as we had crossed one of the canals, and while suffering intensely from thirst, that I asked a Dervish, who was drinking from the hollow shell of a cocoa-nut at the stream, to give me a draught of water from his vessel; but this man, though devoted by his order to the exercise of hospitality and charitable offices to all mankind, and though he had but the moment before returned me the salutation of the faithful, added insolence to his refusal, and pricking my mule with a sharp instrument, caused the poor

beast, already sinking under his double burthen of a lading and a rider, to rear and kick, and ultimately to throw me off, with a part of the lading upon me. The agility of this Dervish, who was young and active, enabled him to escape the punishment I should otherwise have inflicted on him, for this breach of his own precepts to others; but, as I was now dismounted, I began to reload the articles that had fallen off, after which, I repaired to the stream, to allay both my thirst and my anger at the same time. On endeavouring to remount, which was a task of no small difficulty, as the lading of the beast was wide and high, and there were neither stirrups, nor a stone, or the smallest eminence of any kind near us, the whole of the poor creature's burthen came tumbling on the ground. It had at first perhaps been but badly secured, though I had used all my strength and skill in loading it: but the effect of the rearing, kicking, and rolling of the animal on the earth, when the Dervish provoked it to throw me, had made the whole so loose that it rolled entirely under the animal as it stood. To increase the evil, as I let go my hold of the halter, in order to use both hands in securing the packages,

the mule made off at a full gallop, frisking and flinging its head in the air, pawing with its fore-legs, and kicking with its hind ones, as if in derision at my dilemma, and triumph for its own happy riddance and escape. As the rest of the party had by this time got far a-head, I waited in this miserable plight for two full hours, by the way-side, literally guarding the merchandize with one eye, and keeping a look-out with the other on the movements of my truant mule, who regaled himself on the shrubs near; besides being in continual apprehension of having the whole property (which was not my own) taken possession of by robbers, who are never wanting to follow up the stragglers of a caravan, and plunder all they can lay their hands on. At length, some peasants of the country coming by, very charitably assisted me to catch my mule, and even helped me to reload it, when, with their assistance, for it could not otherwise have been done, I remounted, and continued my way; they themselves soon branching off to their own villages near the road.

Though I was now perfectly alone, and liable therefore to insult and pillage from any handful of men who might cross my path, I

went on with a light heart at the prospect of my troubles being soon to be at an end, and had filled my pipe on the mule's back, to smoke away my cares, and to make its enjoyment compensate for the want of a companion. As I abandoned the halter of the beast, by throwing it for a moment across his neck, while I struck a light, which requires the use of both hands, and while I was in the act of drawing my first whiff, the refractory brute, probably from imagining the pricking of the Dervish to be near him again, first cocked his ears forward, then stood fixed and immovable, and at length, after three or four repeated flingings of his hind legs in the air, again unseated me, and now, in the confusion of this totally unexpected result, the baggage and the animal itself came tumbling after and upon me, and nearly crushed me to death by their fall. I was a long while before I could extricate myself from this state, for even the beast was in some way entangled by its own girths and bandages, and could not rise from the ground. When I had with difficulty regained my legs, I found the burthen, from the firmness with which it was last braced on, to be all secure; and by my assistance, and a vigor-

ous effort of its own, the mule rose again, with all its lading fast as before. All my efforts to mount were, however, quite ineffectual; the packages, being large and comparatively light, making an elevation of three or four feet above the animal's back. My poor mule had had his share of disasters, as well as myself; and he seemed determined, by all the freaks and tricks within his power to perform, to shew that he would not hazard any more. I was obliged therefore, bruised and tired and irritated as I was, to trudge the rest of my way on foot, holding the halter of my charge firmly in my hand, to prevent his escape, and much more disposed to give him the stripes of the Parisian ass-driver, as related by Sterne, than to feed him on the macaroons of the sentimental traveller.

It was not until four hours after sun-rise that I entered, alone, the village of Hebheb, leading my mule after me, and attracting the inquiries of the idle and curious, as well as of the humane and charitable, as to what accident had befallen me; these inquiries being suggested by the dust with which I was covered, the ragged state of my rent garments, and the fashion of my turban, which was unlike the

shape of any class, and my whole costume disordered and awry. I succeeded, at length, in finding out the coffee-house or shed at which my young friend Suliman had put up; and after anointing my bruises, washing myself from head to foot, and giving my torn garments to be repaired, I lay gladly down, to recruit my exhausted strength.

It was long past noon when I awoke, and the pain which I suffered from the bruises sustained in my fall was now much greater than before, and almost disabled me from walking. Suliman expressed the most earnest solicitude for my comfort, and did a hundred kind offices, to which nothing but a humane heart could have prompted him. We were both in the same coffee-shed, or khan, for these were here united, as the Hadjee Habeeb and his friend, the fat Moollah of Kiffree; but these would neither of them now speak to any one of our party: and when they were told of my disasters they exultingly exclaimed, "Thus does God punish those who violate the sanctuaries of his Prophet." We cared but little for a resentment so perfectly harmless in its effects, in spite of which Suliman and myself made an excellent dinner together, desiring

nothing better than that it might fall to our lot to be fellow-travellers on some future occasion.

I saw no more of the town of Hebheb than the portions passed through on our entry into and exit from it. The most remarkable features of it were a fine stream of clear water running through the town, many enclosed groves of tall palm-trees intermingled with the dwellings, and in these an abundance of wild pigeons and turtle-doves. The population of the place is thought to be about three thousand, but two would, perhaps, be nearer the truth. I was particularly struck with the resemblance of the people in general to Egyptians, both in complexion, stature, feature, and dress; and even the Arabic spoken here seemed to my ear to approach as nearly to that of Egypt, as the features of the country along the Tigris resemble those of the lands that border on the Nile.

This was the first place at which, during all my travels in Mohammedan countries, which had now been considerable, I had ever seen boys publicly exhibited and set apart for purposes of depravity not to be named. I had, indeed, heard of public establishments for

such infamous practices at Constantinople, but I had always doubted the fact. I saw here, however, with my own eyes one of these youths avowedly devoted to purposes not to be described, and from the very thought of which the mind revolts with horror. This youth was by no means remarkable for beauty of person, and was even dirtily and meanly dressed. His costume was that of an Arab, with a peculiar kind of silk handkerchief, called keffeeah, hanging down about the neck, and thrown over the head. He wore, however, all the silver ornaments peculiar to females; and from his travelling khoordj he exhibited to the persons in the coffee-house a much richer dress of muslin and gold stuffs, in which he arrayed himself on certain occasions. The boy was about ten years of age, impudent, forward, and revoltingly fond and fawning in his demeanour. He hung about the persons of those who were seated in the coffee-house, sitting on their knees, and singing indescribable songs; but no one, as far as I could learn, avowed any nearer approach. There were many of the party, indeed, who insisted that the practice had no existence in Turkey; but that the object for which boys

of this description was exhibited was merely to sing, to dance, and to excite pleasurable ideas; and that for this purpose they were taught alluring ways, and furnished with splendid dresses. Others, however, more frankly admitted that the vice was not merely imaginary, and common notoriety would seem to confirm this view of the case. This youth was under the care of an elder and a younger man, who travelled with him, and shared the profits of his exhibition and his use. As neither the state of morals nor of manners in any country can be accurately judged of without facts of this nature being stated, as well as those of a more honourable kind, I have felt it my duty, as an observer of human nature, to record, in the least objectionable manner in which I can convey the description so as to be intelligible, this mark of profligacy, to which the classical scholar will readily remember parallels in ancient manners, but which among the moderns has been thought by many to be nowhere openly tolerated.

We prepared to set out as on former occasions, after the prayers of El Assr, and about the hottest time of the day. Some causes of detention however happening, it was four

o'clock before we were all mounted and on our way.

Going still in a direction of south-west, we passed several small villages, embosomed in groves of palm-trees, and went over several canals of water, across wooden planks used as bridges. One of these was so loosely held together, that a laden mule and his rider fell through two of the boards as they separated, and were with great difficulty rescued from suffocation.

It was not more than two hours after quitting the town of Hebheb, that we came on the eastern bank of the Tigris, which seemed here to be about the same size as at Mousul, or scarcely at all augmented. We halted on its banks for sun-set prayers, and suffered our animals to drink and graze for the short period of our stay. On remounting, we continued our way in a southern direction, with slight occasional deviations, as we now followed the winding of the river, and kept always close upon its edge.

July 16th.—Though thus upon the borders of a large and fertilizing stream, nothing could be more dreamy and monotonous than the scenery which, during the whole of our long

night's ride, presented itself on every side. We quitted the banks of the Tigris soon after midnight, as it bent a little to the south-east; but though now thus near to the great metropolis of the surrounding country, the tract over which we passed appeared to have in it a much greater portion of desert and unproductive space than of fertile or cultivated soil; and we neither saw villages nor people for many hours in succession.

It was with the earliest blush of dawn that we first gained sight of Bagdad, at a distance from us of about four or five miles. As it seemed to stand on a perfectly level plain, it presented no other prominent objects than its domes and minarets, and these were neither so large nor so numerous as I had expected to have seen rising from the centre of this proud capital of the Khalifs, whose empire once extended from the Pillars of Hercules to the Chinese Wall, and from the Indian Ocean to the Frozen Sea.

At sun-rise, we reached the gate of entrance, on the outside of which Turkish horsemen were now assembling to exercise the throwing of the jereed, and foot-soldiers were collecting in still greater numbers, to form an

escort for the Pasha, who was every moment expected on his return from his morning ride.

Being arrested at the gate by the public officers stationed there to guard against the entrance or exit of contraband commodities, I was made to dismount, for the purpose of their examining the lading of my mule; but having said that neither the animal nor the goods belonged to me, I was detained until the owner of the beast should come to answer for himself. This was the Hadjee Habeeb, who I had reason to believe had pushed in among the earliest of the crowd, probably himself carrying contraband articles, and thus forcing their entrance. My belief that he had preceded me was not admitted, however, as a sufficient reason for my being suffered to proceed; neither would the officers at the gate examine the lading in my presence, as I had admitted it was not my own, nor would they suffer me to abandon the animal to the care of another, and go my way.

I continued to wait, therefore, very humbly at the gate of this great city, sitting cross-legged on the dusty ground, and holding the halter of my mule, who continued to be too refractory and ungovernable to the last to be

left quietly to himself; and had lighted my pipe, to lessen the tedium of this detention; when a Turkish soldier impudently snatched it from me, and extinguished it, asking me, at the same time, how I dared be guilty of such a breach of decorum just as the Pasha was about to pass.

Presently, this distinguished personage entered, preceded by a troop of his Georgian Mamlouk guards, all gaily dressed, and mounted on fine and well-furnished horses. A troop of foot soldiers followed, all of them having English muskets, and many of them English military coats, which they purchase with the other worn-out garments of the British Resident's guards; but their head-dress was a huge fur cap, of a semi-globular form and savage appearance, and their whole deportment exhibited the total absence of discipline or uniformity. A few drums and reed-pipes were the only instruments of music, and the sounds of these were far from dignified or agreeable.

Nothing, however, could surpass the awe which the passing-by of the Pasha seemed to inspire in all who witnessed it, though this is no doubt a frequent occurrence. There were two large coffee-houses near the gate, the

benches of which were filled with hundreds of spectators; yet not a pipe was lighted, not a cup of coffee served, and not a word spoken, during this awful moment. Every one rose, and either made an inclination of the body, or lifted his hand to his lips, his forehead, and his heart, in token of respect. The Pasha, though he seemed scarcely to turn his head or his eyes from a straight-forward view, nevertheless returned these salutations with great grace, and every thing was conducted with the utmost gravity and decorum.

At the close of this procession, Dr. Hine and Mr. Bellino, the physician and secretary of the British resident at Bagdad, passed close by me, on horseback, as I sat smothered in the very dust of their horses' hoofs; but though I knew them at the moment to be the persons they were, from their dresses, and from hearing them converse in English as they passed, and though I felt the humiliation to which I was reduced as extremely galling, yet I forbore to make myself known to them under such circumstances and in such a crowd.

When the cavalcade had entirely passed by, and every one returned again to the care of his own concerns, I pressed hard to be released

from the unreasonable and hopeless bondage in which I was thus held; but entreaty procured me only abuse, and the satisfaction of being thought an idle vagabond who wished to abandon the property of the man on whose beast I rode, with a view, no doubt, to escape from paying him for its hire. Altercations, hard words, and, at last, on my part also, threats and abuse, succeeded, however, in effecting what I believe gentler terms would never have done; till, at length, being able to bear with it no longer, I drew my pistol from my girdle, and daring any one at the peril of his life to molest me, I led off my mule in triumph, amid the execrations of the guards, for my insolence, but cheered by the shouts and applause of the rabble, for my defiance of a class on whom they look with the hatred of an oppressed race towards their tyrants.

I took the animal to the Konauk Tatar Agasi, or head-quarters of the couriers, where, on representing myself to be an Englishman, (of which the guards at the gate knew nothing,) I was treated with great respect, and suffered to leave the beast, to be delivered to its owner, without any further care of mine. As I waited here until the Tartar Jonas, who had

deserted us on the road, was sent for—coffee, pipes, and sherbet were served to me, and I was entertained with the most extravagant praises, which these men bestowed on the character of the English generally, and of their illustrious representative at Bagdad in particular.

When Jonas at length arrived, I took him with me to the house of Mr. Rich, to whom I explained the whole of his behaviour to us on the road, and all the consequent inconveniences that I had suffered; and by this gentleman I was assured that proper notice should be taken of the Tartar's treacherous conduct. The reception I met with at the hands of Mr. Rich, was warm and cordial in the highest degree. I found an apartment ready for me, servants placed at my disposal, and, indeed, all the comforts of a paternal home, with the most hearty and oft-repeated welcome. After passing a short time in conversation with Mr. Rich, I was conducted by one of his servants to the bath; and after much enjoyment there, returned to pass a day of unusual happiness in the intelligent and amiable society of Mr. and Mrs. Rich, and the other members of their family.

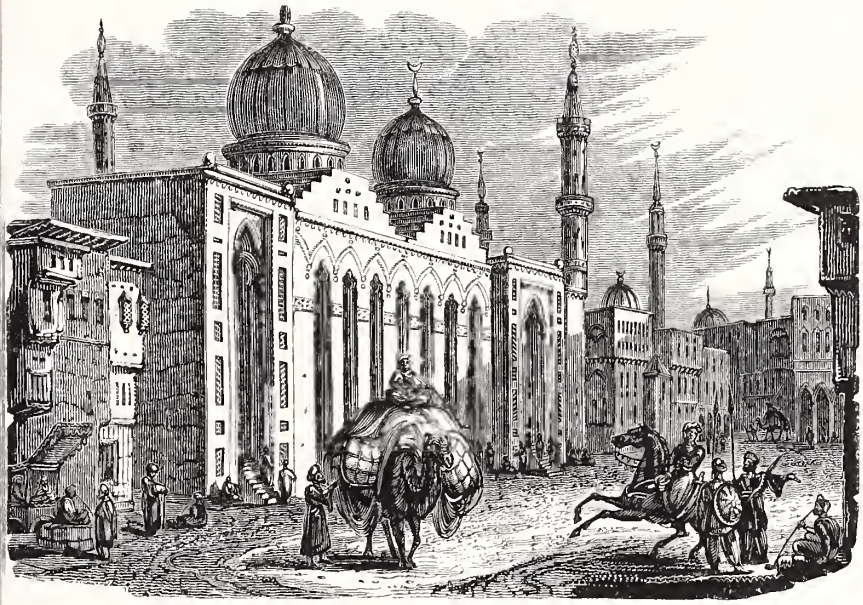
CHAPTER VII.

DESCRIPTION OF BAGDAD.

July 20th.—The change from all that could be disagreeable, in the way of living, to so much comfort, and, indeed luxury, as I found in the house of Mr. and Mrs. Rich, added to the still higher charm of the intelligent society with which I had become surrounded there, was sufficient to repay me for all the vexations I had suffered on my way. I continued to enjoy these pleasures uninterruptedly for several days, before I felt even a desire to gratify that curiosity which is so generally impatient on entering a large and celebrated city.

I profited however this morning, by the gentlemen of the establishment riding out, to accompany them on horseback, going down through the whole length of the town, passing

CHAPTER VII.



PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF A STREET AND MOSQUE AT BAGDAD.

out through the south eastern gate, and making the circuit of the walls, so as to return by the north-western gate of entrance, which leads from the Mousul road. The remainder of the day was devoted to an examination of the interior of the city, in the company of native resident guides; and from this, with the information acquired from other sources, during the few days I had already been in Bagdad, the following account, which if not as full is at least as faithful as I could make it, was carefully compiled.

The city of Bagdad stands on a level plain, on the north-east bank of the Tigris, having one of its sides close to the water's edge The plan which Niebuhr has given of it appeared to me generally accurate, both as to the form and extent of the city and its suburbs; to the outline delineation of which, description alone can supply the more minute details.

The wall by which Bagdad is surrounded bears marks of having been constructed and repaired at many different periods; and, as in most other Mohammedan works, the oldest portion is the best, and the latest the worst part of the fabric. The wall is built entirely

of brick, of different qualities, according to the age in which the work was done; it has large round towers at the principal angles, with smaller towers, at short distances from each other, in the intervals between the larger ones. On the large towers are batteries planted with brass cannon of different calibre, badly mounted, and not more than fifty in number, including all the fortifications towards the land-side of the city.

There are three gates of entrance and outlet; one on the south-east, a second on the north-east, and a third on the north-west of the city. The last of these is the principal one, leading from the most frequented road, to the most populous and busy part of the town, having the exercise-ground for playing the Turkish game of the Jereed just without it, with the Great Market and the Pasha's Palace not far distant within. The whole wall has a dry ditch of considerable depth around it, but this is merely an excavation, without masonry or lining of any kind.

The best portions of the old work remaining in the walls, are in two of the angular towers, not far from the central gate: these are indeed excellent. The quality of the

bricks, which are of a yellowish colour, and the closeness and symmetry of their union, are both equal to any ancient masonry that I had ever seen; and a long inscription, which occupies a broad band of the northernmost of these towers, is executed in the best manner of the old Arabic sculpture. From the form of this inscription, it did not appear to me to be the same that Niebuhr had copied from one of the towers; by which it appears that the Khalif Nasr had constructed it in the year 618 of the Hejira, or 1221 of the Christian era.

The whole of the country to the north and east of Bagdad, as far as can be seen in riding around its walls, is one flat waste, with scarcely a tree or a village to be perceived throughout its whole extent; but, as the roads from the interior traverse this level plain, it is occasionally enlivened by the appearance of troops and parties of horsemen, passing to and fro from the city at all hours of the day.

The interior of the town offers fewer objects of interest than one would expect, from the celebrity which the name of Bagdad has obtained as an Oriental emporium of wealth and magnificence. A large portion of the

ground included within the walls is unoccupied by buildings, particularly on the north-eastern side; and even where edifices abound, particularly in the more populous quarter of the city, near the river, a profusion of trees are seen; so that, on viewing the whole from the terrace of any of the houses within the walls, it appears like a city arising from amid a grove of palms, or, like what Babylon is supposed to have been, a walled province rather than a single town.

All the buildings, both public and private, are constructed of furnace-burnt bricks, of a yellowish red colour, a small size, and with such rounded angles as prove most of them to have been used repeatedly before, being taken, perhaps, from the ruins of one edifice to construct a second, and again, from the fallen fragments of that to compose a third. In the few instances where the bricks are new, they have an appearance of cleanliness and neatness never presented by the old, though even these are still much inferior in those particulars to stone.

The streets of Bagdad, as in all other eastern towns, are narrow and unpaved, and their sides present generally two blank walls, windows

being rarely seen opening on the public thoroughfare, while the doors of entrance leading to the dwellings from thence are small and mean. These streets are more intricate and winding than in many of the great towns of Turkey, and, with the exception of some tolerably regular lines of bazārs, and a few open squares, the interior of Bagdad is a labyrinth of alleys and passages.

The Serai, or Palace of the Pasha, is an extensive rather than a grand building. It stands in the north-west quarter of the town, and not far from the banks of the Tigris. It contains, within its walls, most of the public offices, with spacious accommodations for the Pasha's suite, his stud, and attendants; but being a comparatively modern building, with additions made at different periods, it forms a large pile of the most confused plan, offering nothing of architectural beauty, strength, or interest.

The Mosques, which are always the prominent objects in Mohammedan cities, are here built in a different style from those seen in most other parts of Turkey. The most ancient of these is thought to be the "Jāmah el Sookh el Gazel," so called from its

standing in the market where cotton thread is sold.*

The body of the original building appears to have been destroyed by violence. No more remains of it at present than the minaret and a small portion of the outer walls. The former of these is a short, thick, heavy column, of the most graceless proportions, built of bricks, diagonally crossed, and varied in colours, as in the minaret of the Great Mosque at Mousul. The spring of the projection for the gallery, from whence the invitation to prayer is repeated, commences even below the centre of the column, and goes up in a series of pointed arched niches, dropping ornaments like stalactites, &c. till it reaches about two-thirds the height of the shaft, gradually swelling outward, and terminating in the gallery before mentioned. The piece of the column above this is short, and terminated by a roundish sum-

* *Jāmah* is the Arabic for a mosque; *Sookh*, the name of a public market or bazār. *Gazel*, is the name of cotton thread, and is a different word from *Ghazelle*, the name of the Desert antelope. This market-place, at the time of my passing through it, was crowded to excess by country women, the venders of this commodity; and the scene was one of great confusion, so that my view of the mosque was imperfect.

mit; the whole is much inferior to the Turkish minarets of Syria, and still more so to the light and elegant ones seen in many parts of Egypt. The exterior surface of this minaret bears also marks of violence; but sufficient of it remains to shew that some parts of it were highly ornamented with the fanciful sculptures of Arabesque work; and an inscription, copied for Niebuhr by an Arab Moollah, states it to have been erected by the Khalif Mostanser, in the year of the Hejira 633, or 1235 of the Christian era, about fourteen years after the date of the tower seen in the outer wall of the city, and already described.

The Jāmah el Merjameeah, a mosque not far distant from this, has some remains of equally old and very rich Arabesque work, on its surface. The body of the mosque itself is modern, and its interior presents nothing remarkable, but its door of entrance is very fine. This is formed by a lofty arch of the pointed form, bordered on each side by a succession of rich bands, exquisitely sculptured, going up the sides, and meeting at the top, nearly in the form of the arch itself. The outermost of these is followed by a large moulding, of sufficient diameter to be called a

column, did it not arch over at the top to crown the lesser bands there described. This moulding is spirally fluted all the way up, and on the projecting parts of the flutings are minute and laboured sculptures, in the style of the age in which it was executed. There are a profusion of inscriptions, which might be copied by any one having time to devote to such a task; but it would require weeks at least to complete the labour.

The Sookh el Bafta, or Market of Muslins, which is continued in a street leading from this mosque, is apparently of the same age. I observed in this market, or bazār, a peculiarity which I had never seen elsewhere: namely, a band of old Arabic inscriptions over each shop-bench, sculptured in large characters, and with as much care as any of the inscriptions on the mosques. These were executed with so much regularity and uniformity, as to induce a belief of their being coeval with the bazār itself, which was very old; but, whether they designated the names of the occupiers at its first opening, promulgated some holy sentence, or marked the date of the foundation, we could not, in the hurry of our excursion, ascertain.

The Jāmah el Khassākey, like the two former mosques, has but a small portion of the original edifice remaining. In this is seen a niche of prayer, peculiarly remarkable. These niches are generally simple and unadorned recesses, directing the worshipper towards the Kaaba at Mecca; and they have been held to denote, at the same time, the invisibility of God, which is supposed to be expressed, by having them perfectly plain and empty, in contradistinction to similar recesses in the temples of the infidels, which were invariably occupied by idols, or figures of human beings. The niche of this mosque, which is of the usual concave form, is crowned by a Roman arch, supported on two small columns. These last have square pedestals, spirally-fluted shafts, and a rich capital of flowers, like a profuse and florid composite. Around the arch, from pillar to pillar, is a sculptured frieze, resembling those seen on the Roman monument called the Tombs of the Kings at Jerusalem, on the door of the Roman Palace at Konnawaught in the plains of the Haurān, and on other Roman temples and early Christian Churches seen and described in the jour-

ney through the eastern parts of Syria. A still more striking feature of this niche is a fine fan or shell-top, more nearly resembling those seen at Palmyra and Baalbeck, than those found at Jerash and Adjeloon in the Decapolis; but evidently in the Roman, and not in the Arabic taste. I remembered, however, on this occasion, the fan-topped niche, standing on the outside of the entrance gate to the Great Castle of Bosra in the Haurān, now used by the Mohammedans residing in that ruined city, for prayer, as it points directly to the Kaaba. I had at first conceived that to have been a Roman military guard-house, converted, from its local convenience, to its present purpose; but, as there are strong reasons to believe that castle to be a Saracenic work, grafted on the ruins of a noble Roman theatre, this supposed guard-house might well have been a chapel, with its fan-topped niche of prayer, just as the same is seen here, in the less doubtful court of the Jāmah el Khassākey, at Bagdad. Down the centre of the back of this niche ran a broad band, richly sculptured with vases, flowers, &c. in the very best style of workmanship, and the whole

was executed on a white and fine-grained marble.*

The work seen in the interior of this mosque seemed to be of much later date than the original building. It was not merely simple, but mean, though it had several Arabic inscriptions, in a good upright character, and one in the loose and flowing character of the Persians. The minaret is apparently a work of the present century, and offers nothing remarkable in its structure, its form being like the other towers in the town, and its surface one tawdry glare of green, black, and other coloured tiles, mixed with the brick of which it is built.

The Jāmah el Vizier, which is seated near the Tigris, and only a few yards from the Bab el Jissr, or gate of the bridge, has a fine dome and lofty minaret. The great mosque, seated in the square of El Maidān, in the way from the north-west gate to the palace and the British residence, is also a noble building; but most of the others, not here

* The mixture of Roman and Saracenic architecture and sculpture in the same edifices has been already frequently adverted to in this and preceding volumes, in which the subject of the different orders has been discussed.

particularly named, are of comparatively inferior importance.

The domes of Bagdad are said to be in the Persian taste; and the difference of their form and style of decoration, from those of Turkey and Arabia, was one of the first peculiarities which struck me on entering the city. There are two or three insignificant domes, of a flattened form and plain surface; but the principal ones are all high, and disproportionately narrow, their height exceeding their diameter by about one half. They are richly ornamented with glazed tiles and painting, the colours used being chiefly green and white. Some of the inscriptions are also executed in this fanciful manner, in bands running round the foot of the dome. The glitter of these colours, reflected from a polished surface, gives a gaiety and liveliness, rather than majesty or magnificence, to the buildings; but, although unexpected novelty is generally agreeable, yet, both at first sight, and after repeated observation, these Persian domes appeared to me much inferior to the rich and stately domes of Egypt, and especially those of the Mamlouk sepulchres at Cairo.

The minarets, ornamented in the same man-

ner, and offering the same bright assemblage of colours, are not to be compared to the plain and grave dignity of some of the Turkish towers at Diarbekr, Aleppo, and Damascus, nor to the lighter elegance of many of those in the larger towns on the banks of the Nile.

Both on the domes and minarets of Bagdad, the high green rod, with a globe surmounted by the crescent, as represented in most of the Eastern scenery exhibited on the English stage, is however frequently seen, though this is not common in other parts of Turkey. The number of the mosques in this city is thought to exceed a hundred; but, of these, not more than thirty can be distinguished by their particular minarets or steeples; the rest are probably mere chapels, oratories tombs, and venerated places, resorted to by the populace for prayer.

The public khans, or caravanserais, amount to about thirty, but they are all inferior in their construction to those of Diarbekr and Orfah. One of these, called Khan el Oorthweh, is remarkable, as having both its larger and smaller arches pointed, with an intermediate range of a flattened form and central indentation,

after the manner of those before described at Mousul. This edifice bears the marks of considerable antiquity; it is well built, of a very dark-coloured brick, with white cement, and has all the usual ornaments of Arabic and Turkish architecture, in stalactite drops, overhanging niches, &c.

The bazārs are numerous, and mostly formed of long, straight, and tolerably wide avenues. The best of these are vaulted over with brick-work; but the greater number are merely covered by flat beams, laid across from side to side, to support a roof of straw, dried leaves, or branches of trees and grass. The shops in these bazārs are well furnished with Indian commodities: but this, which I had expected to have found the best part of Bagdad, is perhaps the most inferior of all. Throughout the city, there is not a bazār that can be compared with the one adjoining the Khan el Goomrook, at Orfah. The one most recently built is the largest and the best; this is long, wide, lofty, and well filled with dealers and wares, but there is still an air of meanness about it, which I had never before observed in any large Turkish city.

The baths are also inferior to those of all

the large towns of Mesopotamia, through which I had yet passed. There are said to be more than fifty of these establishments at Bagdad, and, on the day of my arrival, I was taken to one of the best of them. This was large, and well supplied with water; but its bare brick walls only here and there patched with tiles of birds and flowers, its poor pavement, and general gloom and nakedness, was of the most forbidding kind. The attendants were inferior in adroitness to the Egyptians and Damascenes: of this difference I had the best opportunity of judging: for, being taken to the bath by one of Mr. Rich's servants, I was, on that account, treated with extraordinary respect and attention by the master and his assistants; and if, under these circumstances, the inferiority was very marked, it was likely to be still more so upon a general comparison between them by casual visitors and strangers.

Of the private houses of Bagdad I saw but little, excepting only their exterior walls and terraces. It struck me as singular, that, throughout the whole of this large city, I had not seen even one pointed arch in the door of entrance to any private dwelling:

they were all either round or flat, having a fancy-work of small bricks above them; and even in those parts of the old bażārs and ruined mosques, in which the pointed arch is seen, its form is nearer to the Gothic than to the common Saracenic shape, which I had also observed to be the case at Mousul; so that Bagdad could not have been the original seat of Saracenic architecture, which probably took its rise much farther in the west.*

The houses consist of ranges of apartments opening into a square interior court; and while subterranean rooms, called serdaubs, are occupied during the day for the sake of shelter from the intense heat, the open terraces are used for the evening meal, and for sleeping on at night. From the terrace of Mr. Rich's residence, which was divided into many compartments, each having its separate passage of ascent and descent, and forming, indeed, so many unroofed chambers, we could command, at the first opening of the morning, just such a view of Bagdad as is given in the "Diable Boiteux" of Madrid, shewing us all the families

* This subject still remains in great obscurity, though it would be well worth the careful investigation of some eminent architect and man of taste.

of Bagdad, with their sleeping apartments unroofed, and those near our own abode often in sufficiently interesting situations.

The population of Bagdad is variously estimated at from fifty to a hundred thousand. It is less than that of Aleppo, but greater than that of Damascus, so that about eighty thousand may be near the truth. The chief officers of the civil and military government are from the families of Osmanlies, or Constantinople Turks, though they are themselves mostly natives of this city. The merchants and traders are almost all of Arab descent; and the lower orders of the people are a mixture of Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and Indian blood, in all their different varieties. There are some Jews, and Christians also, who preserve their distinct classes; while the strangers in the town are composed of Koords, Persians, and Desert Arabs, of each of which there are generally a considerable number.

The dress of the Bagdad Turks differs from that of their more northern countrymen, in being less gay and splendid; and their horses, arms, and accoutrements, are all inferior to those used in the other great cities of the empire. The Mamlouk dress of Egypt, so

common among the Turkish cavalry, is never seen here; nor did I observe the large shelwar of Constantinople, but in a very few instances. Turbans are rarely or never worn by the Osmanli Turks of Bagdad, the head being covered among them by the cloth cap or Kaook, of a higher and more narrow form than that used at Constantinople, and bound round in a peculiar way by gold-flowered muslin at the foot. Angora shalloons are worn, for the trowsers, jubbé, and benish, or outer robes, during the summer; and cloths for the two last, in winter only; but the dress of the Bagdad residents is, upon the whole, unusually plain, in comparison with that of other Asiatics.

The costume of the merchants is purely Arab, though generally of a better kind than that of the Desert, being made up almost wholly of Indian cotton manufactures for the caftan, fine shalloons for the upper garments, and worked muslins for the waist and head. Nowhere are plain white turbans so general as at Bagdad; the very lowest order of Mohammedans wear them, as a distinction of their faith; and their way of putting them on is at once characteristic and graceful.

The Jews and Christians dress, as elsewhere throughout Turkey, in dark robes, with Cashmeer shawls, or blue muslin, for turbans. The Persians retain the dress of their own country, by which they may be instantly distinguished from the other classes; and the Desert Arabs are known by their keffeah, or silk and cotton head-dress, their abba, or large woollen cloak, and their curved yambeah, or dagger of the Yemen shape.

The dress of the females of Bagdad is as mean as that used in the poorest villages of Mesopotamia; women of all classes being enveloped in a blue checked cloth, similar to that worn by the lowest orders in Egypt, and having the face covered by a piece of stiff black gauze. The women of the surrounding country, who are seen here in crowds in the markets, which are chiefly supplied by their industry, wear no such veils; over their head is often thrown a checkered cotton cloth of red and yellow, and their faces are openly exposed to view, with the exception of the mouth being sometimes covered. As among the Bedouins of the Desert, these women have their lips stained blue, with lines and other marks on different parts of their faces; heavy

bracelets and anklets are also worn by them; and the nose is either adorned by a large ring, or a solid, flat, circular piece of gold, stuck in one nostril, of the size, shape, and appearance of the fancy gilt buttons worn by the English peasantry on their Sunday coats.

The government of Bagdad is in the hands of a Pasha, assisted by a council. The Pasha himself, though receiving his appointment from the Sultan at Constantinople, is generally dependent, for his admission into the city and his retention of power, on the public voice, not ascertained by votes as in Europe, but popularly expressed in the clamorous manner in which parties in despotic governments give vent to their preferences. His council is composed of several great officers of state, and the chiefs of the several departments of government: these meet on Fridays, at the public divan, for the consideration of important questions, and their opinions are heard and weighed in all affairs of consequence, though the common routine of ordinary business proceeds without their check or interference.

The government of Bagdad has been, for some centuries past, completely a Mamlouk one, the Pasha being chosen from among

Georgian Mamlouks here, and approved by them, as well as by the largest and strongest party in the city, before he can be established in his place, even though supported by the firman of the Grand Signor, who is nominally the head of the empire. The present Governor, whose name is Assad Pasha, was born in Bagdad, and this is said to be the first exception that has happened to the general rule, of their being purely of Georgian birth: the father of the present ruler, Suliman Pasha, was, however, a native of Georgia, and as he was also high in power here, this was deemed sufficient. A regular body of Georgian Mamlouks is still kept up by the present Pasha, by means of fresh importations from Georgia, which are said to increase every year: this is likely to continue, as the most lucrative offices, as well as the whole of the military commands, are exclusively reserved for this race. The most beautiful women of the Harems in Bagdad are also from the same country. It is permitted only to the Faithful, however, to possess white slaves, black ones being deemed a sufficient indulgence for unbelievers; so that the Georgians and Circassians fall exclusively to the enjoyment of the orthodox, while scep-

tics and heretics must content themselves with the sable beauties of Nigritia, Soudan, and Madagascar.

The dominion of Assad Pasha extends from Bussorah on the south, to Mardin on the north, and from the confines of Persia and Koordistan on the east, to the frontiers of Syria and Palestine on the west. These are the nominal boundaries of his territory, though his actual influence does not extend so far, particularly on the east and west, where independant Koord Chiefs and Arab Sheikhs set his power at defiance.

Bagdad is always considered as the great frontier town of the Turkish empire towards Persia; and, poorly as it is fortified, when compared with European cities holding a similar position, it has, nevertheless, hitherto opposed a successful resistance to the attempts of the Persians against it, and is equally secure against the most powerful of the Arabs, the Wahābees.

The force of the Pasha for defence is raised entirely within the town; and in this, as in every other department of his government, he receives no assistance from the great capital of Constantinople, so that, except in name, he

may be considered as quite independant of the Sultan. His force consists of about two thousand horsemen, variously mounted and equipped ; a small park of field artillery, composed of ten pieces; and a body of infantry, who generally accompany him as personal guards, and do not exceed a thousand men.

The service of a foot-soldier is always held to be disreputable in Turkey, and the infantry of Bagdad are in every sense worthy of being so considered. The corps is made up of the refuse of every class of society, and no man is of too bad a character to be admitted into it. The pay is only three piastres (less than a Spanish dollar) per month for each man, out of which he is expected to provide himself with most of the necessary articles of life. The distinguishing feature of their dress is a large fur cap, of a semiglobular shape, the head being thrust into what might be called the flattened pole, and the top of the cap presenting the appearance of a globe cut through at the equator. The diameter of some of these caps is fully three feet; the sides are covered with a brown fur, and the top has a covering of red silk or calico. This seems to be the only part of the uniform furnished by

the government. The rest of the dress is according to the fancy, or the means, of the wearer; and among them, I saw every possible variety, from the long brown goat's-hair shirt of the Bedouin Arab, to the cast-off jacket of an Indian sepoy, sold by the privates of Mr. Rich's Indian body-guard, on their receiving the annual supply of new clothing. The arms of this motley troop are a sabre and a musket; among these, no uniformity of size or shape prevails, though, for the most part, the muskets and swords are of English manufacture, and had probably found their way up by the Tigris to Bagdad, from the ships touching at Bussorah, in their voyages from India.

There are some of the great tribes of Arabs in the vicinity of Bagdad, who, by long-established usage, consider themselves bound, for their provisions only, to do military service on any great emergencies that may require their aid; and other Arab troops are generally to be procured for a very small pay. The Pashas of Koordistan are, also, generally on such terms with the Pasha of Bagdad, as to be ready to supply him with five or six thousand horse, in case of need; so that, at a short

notice, twenty or thirty thousand troops of this mixed and undisciplined kind can be collected together, either to march out on the offensive, or to defend the city.

The trade of Bagdad consists chiefly in Indian manufactures and produce, received by way of Bussorah from Bengal, and distributed into the Nedjed country through Syria, and over Koordistan, Armenia, and Asia Minor.* It is said to have increased, within the last ten years, from two annual vessels to six, under the English flag, besides those under sailing Arab colours. This is considered to be an effect of the great moderation of the present government in its demands. It is thought, indeed, by those best informed on the subject, that there is no part of the Turkish Empire where the people are so little oppressed as here, and where trade is consequently under fewer burthens or restraints.

The communication between Bagdad and Bussorah is now chiefly carried on by boats on the Tigris, though it was formerly carried

* *Bagdad*, which is called by Marco Polo, *Baldachi*, was highly extolled by him for its wealth, manufactures, and trade; which were, in his day however, far greater than at present.

on by way of Hillah, on the Euphrates. The latter track is now rendered unsafe, from there being a large tribe in possession of both banks of the river, who give refuge to all the desperate characters of the surrounding country, and who live chiefly by plunder.* The boats

* The trade between Bussorah and Bagdad was very considerable when Rauwolff wrote, as the following passage will shew:—"In this town there is a great deposition of merchandizes, by reason of its commodious situation, which are brought thither by sea as well as by land from several parts, chiefly from Natolia, Syria, Armenia, Constantinople, Aleppo, Damascus, &c. to carry them farther into the Indies, Persia, &c. So it happened that during the time I was there, on the second day of December, in 1574, there arrived twenty-five ships with spice and other precious drugs here, which came over sea from the Indies, by the way of Ormutz to Balsara, a town belonging to the Grand Turk, situated on the frontiers, the farthest that he hath southeastwards, within six days' journey from hence, where they load their goods into small vessels, and so bring them to Bagdat, which journey, as some say, taketh them up forty days. Seeing that the passage, both by water and land, belongeth both to the King of Arabia and the Sophi of Persia, which also have their towns and forts on their confines, which might easily be stopped up by them, yet that notwithstanding all this they may keep good correspondence with one another, they keep pigeons chiefly at Balsara, which, in case of necessity, might be soon sent back again with letters to Bagdat. When loaden ships arrive at Bagdat, the merchants, chiefly those that bring spice, to carry

used for conveying merchandize on the river are from twenty to fifty tons burthen, and are fitted with masts and sails, for using when the wind serves. In favourable seasons, when the northerly wind prevails, the passage from Bagdad down to Bussorah is made in seven or eight days; but in calms, the boats are from ten to fifteen days in accomplishing the same distance, though they have the current always in their favour. In coming up the stream, however, they are obliged to track or tow along the shore for the greatest part of the way, and then, thirty and even forty days have been consumed in making the voyage from Bussorah to Bagdad.

The smaller vessels, used for bringing supplies of provisions and fruit to the city, are circular boats of basket-work, covered with skins, of the same description as those used on

through the desarts into Turkey, have their peculiar places in the open fields without the town Ctesiphon, where each of them fixeth his tents, to put his spices underneath in sacks, to keep them there safe, until they have a mind to break up in whole caravans; so that at a distance one would rather believe that soldiers were lodged in them, than merchants; and rather look for arms than merchandizes: and so I thought myself before I came so near that I could smell them."—pp. 145, 146.

these rivers, in the days of the most remote antiquity.* The city is supplied with its drinking water from the Tigris, being brought to the houses in goats' skins, which are conveyed on the backs of animals to every man's door, in the same manner as Cairo is supplied from the Nile of Egypt; the convenience of water-works, cisterns, reservoirs, and pipes, being here unknown.

The Pasha was, at this period, said to be so poor, that he had been obliged to borrow twenty-five thousand piastres from the merchants of Bagdad, in small portions from each, in order to give the Georgians of his army their stated allowances, for the festivities of the month of Ramadān. Avaneeahs, or arbitrary contributions, extorted as gifts, which are common in all other parts of Turkey, are said, however, to take place but rarely here; and when they do, they are invariably levied on the officers of government, and never on the trading part of the community. An instance was related to me of the recent incapacity of the government to answer a demand on it of

* See the description of these circular basket-boats, in the account given by Herodotus of Babylon, its commerce, and supplies.

so small a sum as five thousand piastres, when the money was raised by loans from five separate merchants, who had each an order given to him on the revenue of the Customs, to the amount supplied. This enabled them soon to repay themselves, by the exemption, which such an order afforded them, from the regular duties on their goods, until the amount of it should be paid off. The effect of this moderation and justice, on the part of the government, is every where felt, giving great activity to commerce, and general satisfaction to all those engaged in it, so unusual is even this ordinary honesty in the rulers of Turkish cities generally.

At the same time that the trade in Indian commodities is said to have been lately extended at Bagdad beyond its former bounds, the trade from Persia is considered to have greatly declined. Not many years since, Bagdad was a central *depôt* for the productions and manufactures of Persia, intended for the Syrian, Armenian, and Turkish markets; but the Persians having found the route of Arzeroum and Tocat to be a safe and easy way to Constantinople, the goods formerly deposited here, as in a central mart, are now car-

ried by that route direct to the Turkish capital, to the greater profit of the original Persian dealers, and to the corresponding loss of the dealers in Bagdad, through whose hands they formerly passed.

Among all classes of people in this city, there is an apparent deficiency of wealth; and it is not only the want of the accustomed splendour among the military, that strikes one on coming from Egypt, and other large provinces of the Turkish Empire; but the poverty of appearance in all the inferior classes, offers an unfavourable contrast to the gay assemblage of fine colours, which are prevalent among the lowest orders of the people at Damascus, and other similar towns on the way.

At Bagdad, some few fine horses are to be seen, in the stables of the guards that attend the Pasha, but still finer mares are used by some of the wealthier merchants, many of these costing from two to three thousand piastres, or a hundred and fifty pounds sterling each. The Arabs sometimes also bring in good horses from the Desert; but, upon the whole, the difficulty of getting a fine blood animal is much greater at this place,

than would be expected from its vicinity to the Nedjed country, the grand source of supply for the finest horses in the world.

Excellent camels are to be found in great numbers, all of the single humped kind ;* and

* The prevailing opinion in Europe is, that of the two kinds of this animal, the single humped is the camel, and the double humped the dromedary. The fact, however, is nearer the reverse. The double humped camel is found only in Bactria, and the countries to the north and east of Persia ; and these, being natives of a colder climate, and living in more fertile countries than the other species, are shorter, thicker, more muscular, covered with a dark brown shaggy hair, and heavier and stronger by far than any other camels. From this race of the double humped animal, I am not aware of dromedaries being ever produced. The only camel seen in Arabia, Africa, Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, is the single humped. This, inhabiting a hot climate, and having always a scanty supply of food and water, is taller, more slender, of a paler colour, and altogether lighter in form and flesh, than the Bactrian camel. Its hair is as short, and its skin as sleek, as that of the horses or bullocks of England. It is from this race only that dromedaries are produced ; these are merely single humped camels of good blood and breed, which, instead of being used for burthen, are appropriated only to carrying riders and performing journeys of speed. They bear indeed the same relation to other single humped camels, that race-horses do to other horses: care being taken, by preserving the purity of their descent, and improving their blood, to keep them always fit for and appropriated to this particular

buffaloes are as numerous along the banks of the Tigris, as they are on the borders of the Ganges or the Nile. It was at this place that I first saw the humped bullock, so common in India, and found also in southern Arabia, along the coasts of Yemen, but not known in Egypt, or the northern parts of Mesopotamia.

One of the peculiarities of Bagdad is its race of white asses, which, as at Cairo, are saddled and bridled for the convenience of passengers from one part of the town to another, wheeled carriages of any description being unknown. These are equally as large and spirited as the Egyptian ass, and have as easy and speedy a pace. They are frequently spotted over with colours, and otherwise fantastically marked with red stains of the Hennah plant, in a manner that would fit them for any of those grotesque pantomimes in which the English clown Grimaldi distinguishes himself, but which species of ornament seems ill-

purpose. They are trained in Egypt, into dromedary corps, for the supply of lancers and couriers, and perform wonderful journeys, both as to speed and distance. They are called, by the Arabs, *Hedjeen ;* while the camel is called *Gemel*, or *Jemel*, according to the district in which the hard or soft pronunciation of the *g* prevails.

adapted to the general gravity of a Moslem city.

July 21st.—The whole of the day was passed by me at home in order to receive the morning visits of all the Christians of consideration residing here, and of such other public characters as paid their daily attendance at Mr. Rich's divan.

The only two European consulships at Bagdad, are those of the English and French. The former is an appointment of the East India Company, with very handsome allowances, and is filled with great ability and dignity by their resident, Mr. Rich.* The house

* This estimable and justly-lamented individual, a short time subsequent to the period here spoken of, fell a victim to that scourge of the East, the cholera morbus, which, during one of his journeys in Persia, put a sudden and premature end to the brilliant career which his profound and varied acquirements promised. As the incidents recorded in this volume were matters of individual experience and observation, none of them have been subsequently obliterated; but, though nothing will be taken away from what has been mentioned in the original manuscript respecting this excellent individual, I should reproach myself with injustice, if I did not add, after this lapse of time, my sincere though humble testimony to the high character of all his public virtues and conduct; to his unremitting zeal for

occupied by the establishment, is formed of a number of dwellings thrown into one, and, as a residence, is certainly one of the largest, best, and most commodious in the city. It consists of two large courts, one of them used as a riding-ground, having numerous rooms and galleries around it, with walled terraces for sleeping at night in the open air; and a set of vaulted subterranean cellars, called serdaubs, for avoiding the intense heat of the summer during the day; besides spacious and good stables, kitchens, and offices of every description.

Attached to Mr. Rich's establishment were, an English surgeon, an Italian secretary, several dragomen, or interpreters, and a number of of janissaries, grooms, and servants, all filling their proper offices and performing separate duties, as in India, and composed of Turks, Arabs, Georgians, Persians, and Hindoos. A company of sepoys furnished a body-guard, and their drums and horns sounded the re-

the interests of science and general knowledge; and to his polished urbanity, his gentle and unassuming manners, his boundless generosity, and the constant, yet unstudied exhibition of those qualities, which never failed to endear him to all who had the happiness to become his friend or his guest.

gular "reveillie" and "call" of a camp or garrison. A troop of European Hussars were formerly maintained here also; but their numbers are diminished. A large and commodious yacht was always kept ready for excursions on the river, under the care of an Indian Serang and crew. The stud of horses was large and choice; and every thing belonging to the Residency was calculated to impress ideas of great respect on the minds of the inhabitants, who were witnesses of the manner in which it was supported and conducted. The fact is, indeed, that Mr. Rich was universally considered to be the most powerful man in Bagdad, next to the Pasha; and some even questioned whether the Pasha himself would not at any time shape his conduct according to Mr. Rich's suggestions and advice, rather than as his own council might wish.

Our mode of living here, was to rise at the first peep of day, and take a ride and a bath, after which we all met at breakfast about eight o'clock. Mr. Rich then held a public divan until ten, which was regularly attended by all the officers of his own establishment, and by the heads of the chief departments of government in the city. In these visits of cere-

mony, every thing was conducted with great decorum, and nothing could be more evident than the high degree of respect for the Resident with which these interviews inspired the visitors. On the breaking-up of the divan, the members of the establishment generally retired to pass away the heat of the day in the serdaubs below; the only places, indeed, in which existence was tolerable. At sun-set, we again met together, and dined on one of the terraces in the open air; when, after continuing at table generally till ten o'clock, we separated to our beds, on other enclosed terraces, to sleep; the heat of the weather scarcely suffering us to bear the light covering of a sheet, or even the still lighter one of a mosquitoe muslin, though we lay on the highest part of the house-top, and had nothing above us but the starry canopy of heaven.

The French establishment consisted of Monsieur Vigoroux, the Consul-general, a very intelligent and amiable man, and a young Frank Dragoman from Aleppo, with a mean house, and very few servants. The Christian convent, which was under the French protection, was occupied by Padre Vincenza, a Carmelite friar; his colleague, Camillo di Jesu, having

left him lately for Europe. In this church were united the scattered remnants of the Greek, Syrian, Chaldean, and other Christian sects, as they were neither of them sufficiently numerous to afford a separate church of their own; but this attempted union produced only discord and misunderstanding.

In the course of the day, an old woman of Bagdad, the mother of one of the servants in the house, had obtained the permission, which she had long solicited, to pay her personal respects to Mrs. Rich, (a daughter of the distinguished patriot and senator, Sir James Mackintosh.) On being introduced to the presence of this lady, who always retained the English costume, an evident disappointment was bserved in the face of the old lady, whose countenance seemed to say, "What! is this plain and unadorned creature the wife of the Balios, (the title given at Bagdad to ambassadors from foreign powers,) whom I expected to have seen dressed in the most costly robes, with diamonds, pearls, and gold?" With a view to lessen the evident pain of this disappointment, it was answered, by one of the servants, that the lady whom she saw was only the sister of the Balios's spouse, she herself

having gone to the bath; when she replied, "Ah! indeed, I was *sure* that I could not have been so grossly deceived. *That* the lady of the Balios Beg, so poorly dressed!—Impossible! I am sorry, however, that I should come at such an unlucky moment; for now I must content myself with *imagining* her splendid appearance, as I am too old ever to enjoy another opportunity of seeing her for myself."

The weather, indeed, was so intensely hot, that it required the greatest exertion of a person blessed with youth and health in full perfection, to move out in the day-time; and we could, therefore, estimate the strength of curiosity or desire which could bring an infirm and aged individual from her own house, walking a considerable distance on foot, on such a day as this.

The state of the atmosphere at this period, as indicated by the scales of two excellent thermometers, carefully examined and compared, may be judged from the following facts. The lowest degree at which the mercury stood, at the first peep of dawn, which is generally the coldest portion of the 24, was 112° of Farenheit; at noon it stood at 119°; at a little before two o'clock, at 122°; by sun-set it sub-

sided to 117°; and at midnight 114°. This was the case within the last twenty-four hours; the air being perfectly calm, the sun almost blood red, as seen through a dull mist, and the atmosphere literally on fire. There was, indeed, scarcely any perceptible difference between the heat of the day or that of the night, as long as the individual kept in the shade. If exposed to the sun, its rays were scarcely to be borne; natives of the country even died in great numbers from the excessive heat; and nothing but the shelter and comforts afforded by wealth and ingenuity, in the house of the British representative, could have made a residence here at all tolerable to a European. In the winter, the climate is cold, (the latitude being about 33° north,) and many snow-clad mountains within a short distance, from which bleak winds descend; but the three months of June, July, and August, are so intensely hot, as to make persons staying here, even after a long residence in India, sigh for the more temperate regions of Bengal or Hindoostan. Intense as the heat of the climate may appear to the English reader, from the degrees of the thermometer given in the preceding page, it may be added, that there

were seasons in which the heat was even still greater than there mentioned. In a letter received from Mr. Rich, during my subsequent residence in Calcutta, dated Bagdad, April 7, 1820, nearly four years after my passing through the city on my way to India, he says, "So extraordinarily bad was our last summer, so fearfully exceeding any thing you experienced here, (though *you* had a tolerable specimen of our climate,) that I had, at one time, intended to send you an account of it for publication."

CHAPTER VIII.

AKKERKOOF,

OR THE CASTLE OF NIMROD, "THE MIGHTY HUNTER."

CHAPTER VIII.

EXCURSION TO AKKERKOOF.

JULY 22nd.—Accompanied by Mr. Bellino, the Italian secretary of the Resident, and one of the Indian sepoys of the body-guard as a guide, we set out at day-light on an excursion to the ruins called Akkerkoof.

On going out at the Bab el Jisser, we crossed the bridge of boats, which was two hundred and seventy-five horse-paces, or little more than six hundred feet in length. It is of the most wretched construction; and, considering the crowds that go over it constantly, the weakness of the boats, and the strength of the wind and current at some particular seasons, it seems surprising that it holds so well together.

We passed from hence, through a long con-

tinued line of streets and bazārs, on the west of the Tigris, of the same kind as those on the east, and came to one of the principal hospitals of the Dervishes. The architecture of the front of this edifice presented nothing remarkable; the masonry was of the best kind, of burnt brick-work, and, like every part of the old edifices at Bagdad constructed of that material, was quite equal to the best works of this kind executed in the present day, and of the same materials, in Europe. The great arch of the front was of the Gothic form, and very lofty; and a broad band on each side of it contained a long and finely cut inscription, in Kufic characters, executed in high relief, on an ornamented ground.

From hence, we soon got on the skirts of the Western Desert, and continuing our way across it in a westerly direction, came in sight of the distant ruin, of which we were in search. From the level nature of the ground over which we went, this tall mass of building appeared, when we first observed it, to be within half an hour's ride, though it was two long hours before we reached the spot, and about three from the time of our leaving the city-gate. It may be considered, therefore, as at

least twelve miles distant from Bagdad; and it lies from thence, in the bearing, by compass, of west by north half north.

The ruined monument called Akkerkoof, and more generally Kasr Nimrood, or Nimrod's Palace, is a shapeless mass of brick-work rising from a broad base, now so worn away, as to be a mere heap of rubbish. The height of the whole is estimated, with apparent accuracy, by Mr. Rich, to be one hundred and twenty-six English feet; though, by Niebuhr, it is stated at seventy Danish ones. The diameter of the largest part is given, by the former authority, as one hundred feet; the circumference of the lower part of the brick-work still distinct, which is much above the real base, as three hundred feet; and the remains of the tower still perfect, above what appears as a heap of rubbish, though evidently part of the edifice, as containing one hundred thousand cubic feet of masonry.

The part that remains is composed of unburnt bricks, of a large size, cemented together by thin layers of mud, and between every five or six rows of brick, or at intervals of about three feet, are layers of reeds. These last were placed across each other in four separate

layers, that is, the first and third shewing their ends outwards, and the second and fourth their sides, as in the weaving of a straw mat. The softer substance of the brick having gradually crumbled away by the operation of the elements, these layers now project beyond the surface, and form distinct ridges, which are seen at a considerable distance in regular lines.

The use of these layers of reed at intervals was, perhaps, to absorb whatever moisture might have been imbibed by the earthy material, and give it out more freely along its continued tubes towards the surface; and it perhaps underwent some chemical preparation, either to fit it for that purpose, or to preserve it against decay, for these reeds were still as brittle and as fresh as if they had been placed there within the present year. From their size and texture, they seemed more like the stems of rushes from the river, than the stalks of common straw. In some places, besides the layers of reeds, were thick strata of mud and pebbles mixed, of the depth of more than a foot, while the layers of reeds seldom exceeded an inch or two in thickness; but there did not appear to be any invariable rule observed

in the succession of the intervals between either.

The composition of the bricks, their size, and their manner of union—all indeed, except these layers of reed—resembled the work in the walls of the ancient Tanis, the capital of the Pharaohs in Lower Egypt, and those of Eliethas, one of the ancient cities of Upper Egypt. The whole mass, as it stood, resembled the remains of a brick pyramid, more than the fragment of any other kind of building. Its base occupied an extent of nearly three hundred feet square. From thence, a slope went up, as on a heap of rubbish, which, however, was evidently part of the original work; for beneath the surface, now worn into mud by the wind and weather, the layers of bricks and reeds could be plainly traced. This slope was sufficiently gentle, in most places, to be ascended on foot without difficulty, and, after a perpendicular height of about fifty feet, it led to the more perfect mass, where the brickwork is still firm and distinct. This rises in a tall heap, nearer to a pyramidal than any other form, though it may, with the strictest propriety, be called shapeless, as it is destitute of regularity in every part of its outline.

Some portions of it, indeed, rise perpendicularly, and there are appearances of holes and channels on the present outer surface; but these, from being still seen in this worn and decayed state of the monument, must have originally extended considerably beneath the original surface, and, perhaps, to the very centre of the building.

On the north-east side, and about half way up the height of the more perfect portion that remains, is a passage like an arched window, still open, its termination not being visible from any part of the heap on which I stood. By some, this is thought to have belonged originally to the building; by others, to have been made since, for the purpose of examining its interior. It appeared to me rather to resemble a work coeval with the edifice, than one of subsequent execution; and I should have been more decidedly of that opinion, were it not that there was an appearance of a constructed arch at the top of this passage; and that it is still matter of doubt, whether the constructed arch was known to the Assyrians or their contemporaries. Every one who has seen this ruin, and the similar ones at Babylon, scruples not to pronounce them all

of the same age and construction. No arch has yet been seen there, nor would it be expected to be found in this place, either as an original part of the structure, or as a portion of the passage subsequently forced into the pile for purposes of examination; but whether the slight appearance which it presented, of being a constructed arch, was deceptive, we had no means of judging, without an ascent to the aperture itself, which was impracticable.

Though the interior of this solid mass of building was composed of unbaked bricks, its exterior surface seems to have been coated with furnace-burnt ones, many of which, both whole and broken, are scattered about the foot of the pile, and are said to resemble in size and shape those at Babylon, though they are never written on as at that place.

Around this detached ruin, in different directions, but more particularly on the south and west, are long mounds and smaller heaps evidently amassed from the wreck of former buildings, strewed over with burnt and unburnt bricks, and plain and glazed pottery. Stone is nowhere seen, as the country produces none; a local feature which occasioned

all the edifices erected around here, from those of the ancient Babylon to those of the modern Bagdad, to be constructed of bricks.

Sufficient vestiges of these remain, to prove that this Tower of Nimrod, as it is called, did not stand alone, but had near it either a city, or a considerable number of smaller buildings of some kind or other. There are still traces of a large canal to be seen, running through the principal part of the remains, which no doubt supplied the settlement with water from the Tigris, and contributed to fertilize the surrounding plain. The neglect of that canal is certainly the only obstacle to the present cultivation of the land here, as the surface is covered with a good light soil, that needs only to be watered to become productive; and the whole of the country is under the same circumstances as those parts of Egypt to which the inundations of the Nile do not reach, but which are irrigated entirely by canals.

The indefinite nature of this mass of brickwork in the Tower, has rendered it difficult even to imagine what was the precise kind of edifice of which it is a part. Some of the early travellers in this country conceived it to

be the remains of the Tower of Babel; but as Niebuhr well observes, that was, no doubt, in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, whereas this is not far from the banks of the Tigris.* That traveller himself seems disposed to think it was an elevation on which one of the early Khalifs of Bagdad, or even one of the Persian sovereigns who resided at El Madeien, might have had a country-house built, to enjoy from such a height the luxury of cool and fresh air.†

It is difficult to account for so improbable a conjecture as this, from a man of so much accuracy of observation as Niebuhr. In the first place, the materials and style of the building have induced every one else who has seen it, to pronounce it of the Babylonian age, and Niebuhr himself describes it as having a

* Voyage en Arabie, tome ii. p. 249. 4to.

† "Plusieurs voyageurs ont pris Agerkuf pour la tour de Babylone. Mais celle-ci étoit sans contredit dans le voisinage de l'Euphrate, et Agerkuf n'est pas loin du Tigre. Cependant on ne peut pas bien decider aujourd'hui à quelle dessein cet edifice à été élevé. Peut-être etoit-ce le terrein sur lequel un des premièrs Califes de Bagdad, ou même un des Rois de Perse qui residoit à El Madeien, avoit une maison de campagne, pour prendre un air fraix et froid, sur la hauteur."—*Voyage en Arabie*, tome ii. p. 248.

great resemblance to the Babylonian tower seen by him at Hillah. In the next place, the situation of El Madeien is, according to all report, so much more favorable than this for freshness and coolness, from its vicinity to the river, its wood, &c. that nothing would be more improbable than a removal from such a spot to this at Akkerkoof, at all times seemingly destitute of these local advantages. The suggestion that the surrounding ruins may be a part of the ancient Bagdad, does not seem more happy, since, independent of the dissimilarity of the principal ruin to any of the earliest works of the Khalifs, it would give to Bagdad a breadth of ten miles at least on one side of the river only, supposing this to be at its furthest western extreme.*

* In the enumeration of the generations of Noah, when speaking of Nimrod, it is said, "And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. Out of that land went forth Ashur, and builded Nineveh and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, andResen, between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great city."—*Genesis*, chap. x. v. 10—12. Among those enumerated in the land of Shinar, the only name that bears the slightest resemblance to Akkerkoof, is that of Accad, and this is too slight to draw any safe conclusions from it. The remaining part of the quotation serves to prove that the limits of the land of Shinar were somewhere *south* of

The canal seen here is, doubtless, the remains of the canal of Isa, which is represented by Major Rennel as connecting the Tigris with the Euphrates, at a part where these rivers approach each other, going from the old Bagdad on the east, over to Felugia on the west, where the battle of Cunaxa was fought between Cyrus the Younger and Artaxerxes, in the year 401 before the Christian era. Of the wall of Media, leading off from the same point on the north-east, and terminating at Macepracta and Neapolis, on the south-west, no vestige now remains.*

Nineveh; for, after the cities of Shinar are enumerated, Ashur is said to have gone *out* of that land, to build those whose names follow.

* There is not in history a more intelligible or animated account of a battle than that given by Xenophon, in the Anabasis, of the one fought between the royal brothers of Persia, upon this spot. Plutarch most justly observes, that the Attic historian does not so much describe, as exhibit, it; by the force and precision of his language, he makes the reader feel present at every incident, and partake of every danger, as if the action was not past, but actually passing before him. The fierce aversion of Artaxerxes and Cyrus, no less striking than the poetical hatred of Eteocles and Polynices, and which could not be appeased even by blood, is, perhaps, the most extraordinary circumstance connected with this celebrated battle; unless, indeed, there be something still more extraordinary in the position of the handful

From the extent and nature of the mounds at Akkerkoof, there is no reason to believe that the city there was very large. Indeed, the principal ruin is so unlike a place of residence of any kind, that the conclusion to which we came on the spot was, that it must be the remains of some isolated monument, either of a sepulchral or religious nature; few motives, excepting those of devotion and respect for the dead, being sufficiently pow-

of Greeks that followed Cyrus, suddenly deprived of their commander-in-chief, and deserted by their allies in the heart of Asia, surrounded by impassable rivers, deserts, and mountains, and hemmed-in by more than a million of men in arms. At every turn of fortune during the engagement, the reader is on the tip-toe of expectation as to what is to become of these brave men; and when, in a little while, he sees the barbarian host broken, dispersed, and impressed with terror by the valour of these Greeks, his heart expands with exultation, as if a part of the glory he witnesses were reflected upon himself. Such is the power of genius in giving eternity to the transitory virtues of men! The English reader may fully enjoy the whole of this relation in Mr. Spelman's most faithful and beautiful version of the Anabasis, book the first. It may be added, that in the neighbourhood of the field of battle, the Greeks found groves of palm-trees, some of which they felled to construct bridges for crossing the canals and deep ditches. Wine and vinegar, from the fruit of the same tree, were likewise found in the villages.—Id. book ii.

erful to induce the erection of such masses, when purely of a monumental kind, as this seemed to be. Its present shapeless form, having so large a base, and being proportionately so small at the top, seemed nearer to that of a much worn pyramid than any other. We walked up on the slope of the base, and concluded that, if it had been a square tower, the fallen fragments of the top would have been more visible about this base than they really are.

In Egypt we know of a large pyramid of the same material being erected, as Herodotus mentions the pompous inscription which it bore, on contrasting itself with those of stone ;* and remains of such a monument—probably, indeed, the identical one described by him—are still found near the western bank of the Nile, at Saccara, of the same material, in a similar state of decay, and presenting as shapeless a mass as the existing ruin at Akkerkoof.

* " Do not disparage my worth by comparing me to those pyramids composed of stones ; I am as much superior to them, as Jove is to the rest of the deities: I am formed of bricks, which were made of mud adhering to poles, drawn from the bottom of the lake."—*Herodotus*, *Euterpe*, 137.

The appearance of a passage about midway up on the north-east side, may be thought by some to be another feature of resemblance to the Egyptian pyramids, worthy of being noticed, as well as its being cased on the outside with burnt bricks, in the manner that the pyramids were done with harder and finer stone. It seems probable, therefore, that, like these, it might have been an ancient royal tomb, and that the scattered wreck of similar materials around it might be those of inferior sepulchres, such as those which surround the pyramids of Egypt; while the fragments of pottery would be either of vessels broken in the funeral sacrifices and honours paid to the dead, or of those simply used for domestic purposes.

The canal served the purpose, no doubt, of uniting the two celebrated rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris; and nothing could be more appropriate than the spot chosen for its passage across from stream to stream, while the country through which it flowed would be improved by its waters.* We found near this

* "Towards Babylon and Seleucia, where the rivers Tigris and Euphrates swell over their banks and water the country, the same kind of husbandry is practised as in

canal the fragment of an unburnt brick, the surface of which was covered with a hard substance, of a dull light-green colour, like a vitrification by fire; but none were observed with the arrow-headed or Babylonian inscriptions on them.

It was about ten o'clock when we quitted the ruin at Akkerkoof, and, coming back by the same route, we drank of some brackish water at a well, lately dug about midway between the ruin and the river. This well was not more than twenty feet deep, yet it yielded a water quite drinkable by camels and cattle; and no doubt, the whole of the Desert would yield the same supplies at this depth. Its taste was slightly bitter, as well as brackish, partaking of this flavour from the quality of the soil.

As the sun was now high, we saw, to the north-west of us, the strong appearance of the Mirage, which, from the nature of the ground here, is conformable to the opinion that salt soils are favourable to this optical deception. A little beyond this, we turned

Egypt, but to better effect and greater profit. The people here let in the water by sluices and flood-gates as they require it."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* book xviii. c. 18.

up on our left, to visit the mosque of the Imâm Moosa el Kadem, whose gilded domes and gay minarets attracted our notice at a great distance off. We found this seated in the centre of a large village bordered all round with date groves, and called El Kadem, from the affix to Moosa, or Moses, signifying "the patient."

The mosque itself is a large building, occupying the centre of a spacious court, surrounded by a high and well-built wall. Its most striking features, are the two domes which crown it, and which are covered over with one complete surface of gold,* uninterrupted, as far as we could perceive from without, either by fancy devices or inscriptions. Around these rose four lofty minarets, only one of which had its tower and cupola above the gallery, the other three terminating at the gallery itself, but all highly ornamented by coloured tiles inlaid on their surfaces, and forming altogether a group of imposing splendour.

* Resembling, in this particular, the splendid domes of Meshed, a celebrated city, and place of pilgrimage for Persians in Khorassan, which, from their glittering and gilded surfaces, are visible to the traveller at a considerable distance.

As Mr. Bellino was of our party, and wore the Frank dress, we made no attempt to go on the inside, as it might have been dangerous. This being the tomb of one of the early martyrs of the Schiahs, (the Persian sect of Mohammedans,) who was executed in the year 185 of the Hejira, by the reigning Khalif of Bagdad, for entertaining in his house the persecuted partisans of Ali, it is a place of pilgrimage among the Persians, and inferior in note only to the tombs of their great leaders themselves at Mesjed Hossein,* and Mesjed Ali, in the Desert south-west of Hillah and the ancient Babylon.

We found here a number of Persian devotees, going in and out of the courts of the temple; and before the outer gate was a sort of fair, exactly like that held in the square before the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and furnished with nearly the same kind of commodities, among which chaplets, beads, and trinkets, formed a prominent part. As we continued our way down through the bazār of this village, at least three-fourths of the people we saw were Persians, the remaining

* Mesjed, as well as Jāmah, is the common Arabic name for a mosque.

fourth being fixed residents and strangers of other races.

On quitting the village, which was at least half a mile long, we went in a south-easterly direction along the river's bank, and passed over what has been considered the site of the ancient Bagdad, the city built by the Khalif Mansoor. It is true that there are slight vestiges of former buildings to be seen here in scattered heaps near the road, but these are too inconsiderable to be taken for the wreck of so comparatively modern a city.

In our way, we halted at one of the little coffee-houses, of which there are many here, formed in vaults or grottoes under ground, where a nargeel, cold water, a cup of coffee, shade, and repose, are cheap and welcome refreshments offered to the passenger during the heat of the day.

The Tigris, on the very edge of which we now were, was much narrower than the narrowest part of the Nile that I remembered, excepting, perhaps, that narrow arm of it, (for it can be hardly called the main stream,) which flows between Fostat, or Old Cairo, and the Isle of Rhoda on the east. The rate of the current appeared to be about two miles per

hour: the banks were steep, and the water dark and turbid.

It was about noon when we reached the Tomb of Zobeida, to which we had directed our course, out of respect to the memory of her spouse and her; the names of the Khalif Haroun el Raschid and his consort Zobeida, recalling many delightful associations when they reminded us of the pleasure with which we had each devoured the Tales of the Thousand and One Nights, in our earlier years.

This tomb, which lies in the midst of an extensive cemetery, consists of an octagonal base, with a porch before it, the whole being about thirty feet in diameter; on this base is elevated a high and pointed dome, of very singular construction, rising to a height of sixty or seventy feet. The entrance from the outer porch into the tomb itself, or the octagonal space, is through a flattened arched door-way, and over this is seen a modern inscription, dated 1131 of the Hejira. It was copied by Niebuhr, and is given by him as recording that, in the year named, Hussan Pasha had buried there, by the side of the celebrated Zobeida, his deceased wife Ayesha, the daughter of one Mustapha Pasha; and that he had, on this

occasion, repaired the edifice, and built near it some accommodations for dervishes or poor travellers of the true faith. This was, therefore, many years subsequent to the deposit of the original corpse, for which this sepulchre is said to have been constructed; as Zobeida is considered to have died in the year of the Hejira 216, or the year 831 of our era.

On entering within this building, there are seen three distinct tombs erected by the side of each other, and constructed simply of brick-work, in an oblong enclosure above the ground; but whose remains are encased in the third of these is not generally known. These sepulchres occupy nearly the whole of the interior space, and are now in a state of decay. The walls of the octagonal base, which extend to about half the height of the whole building, are plain, and were once coated with stucco. Opposite to the door of entrance is the fragment of an old Arabic inscription, executed in a coarse enamel on tile-work, though now very imperfect, many of the tiles having disappeared.

On looking upward from within, the spectator sees a sharp-pointed dome, of the sugar-loaf shape, the inner surface of which is cover-

ed by the pointed-arched and slightly-concave niches, which form the Arabic frieze, and are so common in the corners of their doors and buildings. A considerable number of holes are also seen at apparently regular intervals, with two small windows facing each other near the commencement of the dome. These windows, as well as a false door-way under the enamelled inscription in the tomb, are constructed with pointed arches; though the entrance from the porch itself, which may, it is true, be a modern repair, has a flattened arch above it.

We ascended from the porch by a narrow and winding staircase of about twenty-five steps, of very steep acclivity, till we came on the top of the octagonal base, which we judged to be at least thirty feet high. There was here a broad walk all around the pointed dome, which rose from the centre of this lofty pedestal to a height of thirty or forty feet more. The exterior of this presented a number of slightly convex divisions, corresponding to the concave niches within, and had a very singular though characteristic appearance. We enjoyed from hence a fresh air and extensive view, and it was from this elevation that we noted

the bearings of the principal objects which we had come out to visit.*

On recrossing the bridge of boats, and returning to the gate of Bagdad, we now observed the whole front of the celebrated academic building, called Medrassee el Mostanseree, frequently mentioned by the Arabian authors as a sort of college, and place of retreat for the learned. It is at present in a state of great decay, though part of it is still used as a khan or caravanserai. On its front, towards the river, is seen a broad band, going the whole length of the building, perhaps two hundred feet, and containing a long inscription in Cufic characters, well wrought in high relief, on an ornamented ground, and all in brick-work. Some parts of the wall, along which this inscription ran, having been injured, the subsequent repairs have been made without regard to the restoration of the defaced letters, so that patches of dead masonry interrupt the line in several places. This is still the greatest thoroughfare in Bagdad, be-

* Kasr Nimrood, or the Ruin at Akkerkoof, W. by N. ½ N. 10 miles.—Gilded Domes of Imâm Moosa, N. N. W. 4 miles.—Jāmah el Vizier, the Great Mosque near the bridge of Bagdad, E. N. E. 1 mile.

ing close to the bridge, on the right hand in crossing it from the west, and immediately on the river's brink. Niebuhr, during his stay here, caused the inscription to be copied by a Moollah, by which it appeared that the edifice was built by the Khalif Mostanser, in the year of the Hejira 630, or of the Christian era 1232.

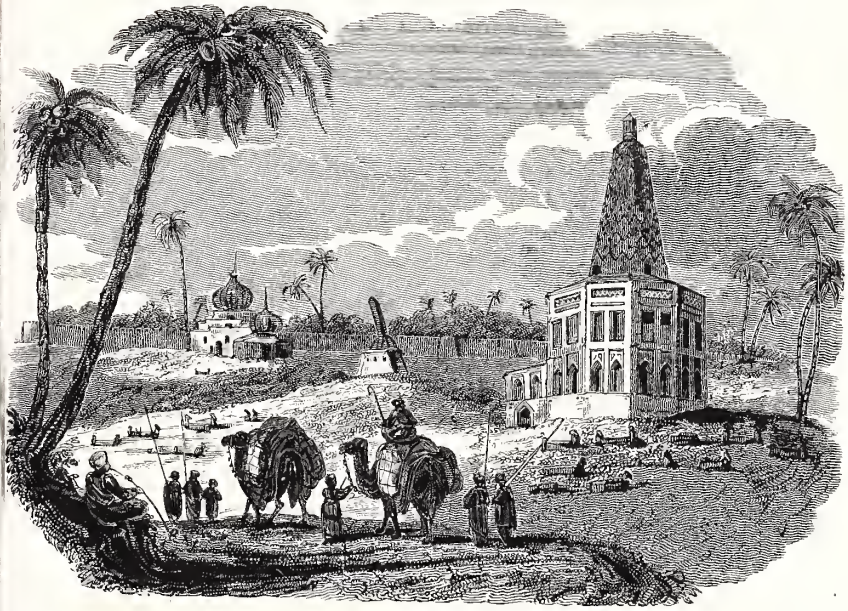
It was about an hour past noon, when we returned from our excursion, just as the heat of the day began to be most oppressive. In our inquiries during the afternoon, we learnt, from a Moollah who visited the house, that the word Akkerkoof might be traced to Arabic etymology, and would signify "The place of him who rebelled against God." This, as applied to the popular tradition of Nimrod's being a rebellious being, and of the ruin at Akkerkoof being his "*place*" after death, would sufficiently accord with the notion of its being a royal sepulchre; but the subject, from its mere antiquity alone, is necessarily involved in great obscurity.

CHAPTER IX.

JOURNEY FROM BAGDAD TO THE RUINS OF BABYLON.

July 24th.—We had fixed on to-day for an excursion to the ruins of Babylon, and were occupied during the whole of the morning in the necessary preparations for our journey. Mr. Bellino, the secretary to the Residency, had expressed a desire to accompany me, although the season, from its excessive heat, was unfavourable for such a journey; but opportunities of going in the company of individuals prepared for researches are rare, and this was thought by him to be a favourable one. We were to be attended by Mr Rich's chief groom, a Koord horseman, who had been before at the spot, with the addition of a negro servant, and a mule for our provisions and baggage. We were fur-

CHAPTER IX.



TOMB OF ZOBEIDA,

WIFE OF HAROUN-EL-RASHID, THE CALIPH OF BAGDAD.

nished with a letter from Mr. Rich, for the governor of Hillah, and one from the Pasha of Bagdad, for the military commander in the neighbourhood of that place, of whose assistance and protection we were assured. My companion retained his European dress, but I adopted the Bedouin habit, and being now well acquainted with the people as well as the language of Arabia, it was thought likely to make our journey more agreeable if we went without any further escort, or suite; being myself quite competent to pass as the guide of Mr. Bellino, who was considered as an European traveller, and therefore the principal person of the party.

We quitted Bagdad about six o'clock in the evening, and crossing the bridge of boats over the Tigris, went through the crowded streets of the western town. The number of people collected here on the benches of the coffee-houses facing the river, to enjoy the moving scenery of the stream, and breathe the cool air of the evening, was surprisingly great; while the variety of persons and dresses in such a mixed multitude, formed an interesting picture of costume and manners.

On leaving the gate of the western wall,

we had before us the prospect of a bare desert. The tomb of Zobeida was far on our right, or to the north of us, and was the only prominent object in view. The first half-hour of our course from the gate of Bagdad was nearly south-west, which brought us, at sunset, to the elbow of the Tigris, flowing rapidly along, through arid banks, with several dry patches of sand in the centre of its stream.

From hence, our road went southerly; and riding over a bare and hard soil, we passed about eight o'clock a large building, called Kiahya Khan, into which we did not enter. The same course of about south-south-west, and over a similarly barren track, brought us at ten to Assad Khan, with a small village of Arabs attached to it. As we found a number of people in motion here, we alighted to make a short halt, and on entering the khan, found it so crowded with animals and their riders, that we could scarcely press our way through, notwithstanding that it seemed a large and well-built edifice, capable of accommodating at least five hundred persons within its walls. We reposed, therefore, on the outside, and were served with some of the best coffee that I ever remember to have drank

any where on the road. We had heard that this khan was famous for the excellent coffee prepared in it, and, as far as our experience went, it fully deserved its reputation. We were struck also with the extreme civility of the attendants, and were pleased with every thing belonging to the establishment.

It was about eleven o'clock at night when we remounted, and going southerly, with now and then a point of westing, we crossed over a canal, by a ruined bridge of a single arch, which was so narrow as just to afford a passage to one individual at a time. This canal is said to have been but very recently in use, and the country on its banks was then fertilized by its waters; but it is at present neglected, the industry of those whose labours alone kept it in use being too severely taxed by the government. It was here too that a large lion from the Euphrates was seen to come regularly every evening, most probably in search of prey, until he was shot by one of the Arabs of Zobeide, the tribe that occupies all the district between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

July 25th.—Soon after midnight we passed

over the dry bed of a deep and wide canal, corresponding in situation with the Nahr Malka,* the supposed work of the Babylonian monarchs, which continued the course of the Euphrates from Macepracta, at the south-western extremity of the Median wall, to the spot on which the cities of Ctesiphon and Seleucia were built on the Tigris. This too was used as late as the age of the Caliphs, not only for the purpose of irrigating the land in its neighbourhood, but as a navigable passage for boats from one river to another.†

* The Euphrates is called *Nahar*, or *Nahr*, from the Hebrew, (see the original in Genesis, chap. xv. v. 18; and Joshua, chap. i. v. 4.) In Syria, the term *Nahr* still means a river, but in Babylonia it is applied chiefly to signify a creek or canal.

† There can be no doubt but that this is the place through which Rauwolff passed on his way from Babylon to Bagdad, and which he then erroneously thought to be the old Babylonian wall. "After we had travelled for twelve hours through desolate places, very hard, so that our camels and asses began to be tired under their heavy burdens, we rested and lodged ourselves near to an ascent, we and our beasts, to refresh ourselves, and so to stay there till night, and to break up again in the middle thereof, that we might come to Bagdat before sun-rising. The mean while, when we lodged there, I considered and viewed this ascent, and found that there were two behind one another, distinguished by a ditch, and extending themselves like

About two o'clock we passed a third khan, called by the Turks Orta Khan, and by the Arabs, Khan Bir Yunus. Its first name is given it from the computation of its being half-way between Hillah and Bagdad; its last, from a well, at which the Prophet Jonah is said to have drank, during his journeys to and from Nineveh.

We passed this place without entering it; and about an hour beyond it, we saw a path branching off more to the westward, while the straight road still continued. Our negro attendant, who acted as pilot, took us by the first, so that at day-break we found ourselves at the Khan of Mizrakjee Oghlou, on the road to Mesjed Hussein, and within sight of Musseib, where there is a bridge across the Euphrates. We turned off from this khan, there-

unto two parallel walls a great way about, and that they were open in some places, where one might go through like gates; wherefore I believe that they were the walls of the old town, whereof Pliny says that they were two hundred feet high, and fifty broad, that went about there, and that the places where they were open, have been anciently the gates of that town, whereof there were a hundred iron ones; and this the rather, because I saw in some places under the sand, wherewith the two ascents were almost covered, the old wall plainly appear."—p. 140.

fore, without entering it, though it seemed a spacious and well-built edifice; and looking to the eastward, we saw, in that direction, the Khan of Scanderia, distant about three miles.

We alighted here soon after sun-rise, and finding excellent accommodation for ourselves and horses, we proposed to remain here for the day to avoid the heat, which had now become intense. This khan was erected within the last century, at the expense of Mohammed Hussein Khan, Emir el Dowla to the King of Persia, with a view, no doubt, to the accommodation of the Persian pilgrims to Mesjid Ali and Mesjid Hussein. These are two of their most celebrated places of pilgrimage, and at these there were two of the richest temples perhaps in the world, till they were recently stripped of their treasures by the reforming Wahābees.*

The plan of this khan differs essentially from those found on the road from Mousul to Bagdad, and corresponds more accurately than these with the idea which we have in Europe of an eastern caravanserai. These

* See the description of this spoliation, in the account given of the incursions of the Wahābees, vol. i. p. 241.

last consisted of many vaulted rooms, of different sizes, and apart from each other, fitted with recesses in the Turkish style. This, on the contrary, as well as all the others between it and Bagdad, was composed of a large square pile enclosing an open court. On the inside of this square was a covered way, running round each of the four sides, and containing excellent stalls for cattle, with raised benches in deep arched recesses, like so many separate chambers for the accommodation of travellers in the winter or rainy season. On the outside of this covered passage, and fronting the interior court, were similar recesses or chambers, open to the air, yet sufficiently sheltered from the sun, in all his points of bearing at different hours of the day. The centre of the court itself was occupied by two oblong raised platforms, of such length and breadth as to leave convenient passages around and between them. At the foot of these, extending all along the outside, were niches and bars for fastening horses, when required to be kept in the open air; and the platforms were for travellers to sleep on, during the warm and dewless nights of summer. Attached to these were other conve-

niences: and a niche for prayer rose in its proper place from the side of the southern elevation. Besides these, there were excellent places for cooking; and an abundant supply of water, though not of the best quality, could always be had from a well attached to the khan. It appeared capable, on the whole, of containing a thousand persons at once, and accommodating them all conveniently.

The striking difference in the style of the khans here, and those seen on the road from Mousul to Bagdad, confirmed me in the opinion which I had originally entertained of these last being Turkish works, erected by the government as stations for Tartars and military couriers, between the capital of the empire and its great frontier town towards Arabia, Persia, and India;* while the same reasons led me to consider those between Bagdad and Hillah, as either of Arabic origin, or still more recently constructed by Persian monarchs, for the accommodation of the pilgrims of their country passing this way to the places of their peculiar devotion. The people in the small villages

* See the reasons already assigned for this opinion, at p. 138 of the present volume.

collected about these khans, being all of Arab descent, speak Arabic only, except some one or two among the servants, who speak sufficient of Turkish and Persian to make themselves understood.

The Khan of Scandereeah is almost wholly constructed of ancient bricks dug up from ruins on the spot. All around this edifice, indeed, are scattered vestiges, sufficient to induce a belief of there having been once some ancient settlement here. These remains consist of large fragments of furnace-baked bricks, fine red pottery, both ribbed and plain, and some glazed in colours, with heaps of rubbish like those which are invariably found collected on the sites of ancient places. I could not learn, however, any name that tradition gave to such remains, nor could we find that any opinion prevailed why its present one was affixed to it. The name of Scandereeah, frequently as it is given by the Turks to places within their dominion, is never applied without a reference to some event of Alexander's life; and it is more than probable, that this also has a similar relation to something connected with the history of that hero, the memory of which may now be lost: more

particularly, as the evident remains of antiquity here would lead one to expect some ancient name.

It may be remarked, that, in our way from Bagdad thus far, we had passed several indefinite mounds and heaps, to which our companions knew of no name; and that neither on the road, nor here, where we inquired most particularly, was the modern town of Nahr Malka, marked in Major Rennel's map, known to the resident people of the country.

After a day of intolerable heat, the thermometer at noon standing at 117° in the inner division of the khan, and in the deepest shade, we prepared at sun-set to depart. On remounting, we continued our course about south-south-west, passing over a flat and barren country, intersected by many small canals, in which water from the Euphrates still remained, when, in about two hours, we came to the Khan of Hadjee Sulimān. This building, said to have been erected by an Arab whose name it bears, is much inferior in size and exterior appearance to those we had passed. We intended to alight here, and take a cup of coffee; but we were told that the khan had lately been deserted. We procured some good

river water, however, from the villagers there, and proceeded on our way.

It was about ten o'clock when we reached the Khan of Mohāwil, when we alighted to repose for the night, having been led to understand that the ruins of Babylon begin to be visible soon after passing this spot, and wishing, therefore, to pass over it by daylight. We found this khan to resemble that of Scandereeah, in its general design, and to be nearly as large. Like it, too, this was chiefly constructed of ancient bricks procured from the neighbourhood; and repairs of the platforms were now going on, with large square furnace-baked bricks of a reddish colour, brought up from the Kassr, at Babel, as the Sheikh told us, and bought with money.

I had thus far been constantly regarded as the Arab guide of Mr. Bellino, and had been always received as such; but here, as we sat together in the caravanserai, the joke went still further. I was asked, who was the stranger I had taken under my protection? and on replying that he was an Englishman, it was asked how much I was to be paid for my journey, when I had carried him out and brought him again to his home in

safety? I named a certain sum; and it was then told me that there was a fine young colt, of a high bred Zobeide race, to be sold in the village, and that if I was disposed to buy it, I might make a profitable bargain; the parties adding, that if I had not immediately the requisite sum in my own purse, my protegé would no doubt advance me sufficient money on account. A long conversation followed, relating to this proposal, at which, when it was translated to him, Mr. Bellino was as much amused as myself; but it was not without considerable difficulty that I was able to escape their pressing importunities to purchase the young colt, for which they thought my European charge could so readily pay. These people behaved, however, with the greatest possible respect to us both, after it was made known to them that the stranger was one of the household of the Balios Bek, (this being the title by which the English Resident is known at Bagdad,) and to this they added the gratuitous supposition that I was of some noble family of Shereefs in Nedjed, and had been chosen for his guide on account of my high descent.

JULY 26th.—We departed from Mohāwil with the rising of the sun, having, though thus early, been furnished before we mounted with a good breakfast of bread and lebben. Soon after quitting this khan, we passed over a canal, filled with water from the Euphrates, and having a small bridge thrown across its stream. We now began to perceive some small mounds, particularly one on the right, and another on the left of the road, of a size and form resembling the smallest of those seen at Nineveh, and like these preserving but few definite marks, by which to characterize the ruins of which they were the wreck.

That these were heaps formed by the decay of buildings, was evident from the presence of brick and broken pottery scattered near them; but we saw neither writing, reeds, nor bitumen, the great characteristics of the Babylonian buildings. Our examination was, however, too cursorily made for us to decide that such characteristics did not exist, or that the heaps we now saw were not of equal antiquity with those which are decidedly known to have formed part of Babylon itself. The distance of them from Hillah, about eight miles, would not exclude them from the site of

that celebrated city, even according to the reduced computation of its area; and we therefore conceived, that they might be the remains of some portion of the famous walls, towards the northern extremity of their limit.*

* "Babylon was a very great and a very ancient city, as well as Nineveh. It is indeed generally reckoned less than Nineveh; for, according to Strabo, it was only three hundred and eighty-five furlongs in compass, or three hundred and sixty according to †Diodorus Siculus, or three hundred and sixty-eight according to Quintus Curtius; but ‡ Herodotus, who was an older author than any of them, represents it of the same dimensions as Nineveh, that is four hundred and eighty furlongs, or above sixty miles in compass; but the difference was, that Nineveh was constructed in the form of a parallelogram, and Babylon was an exact square, each side being one hundred and twenty furlongs in length. So that, according to this account, Babylon contained more ground in it than Nineveh did; for, multiplying the sides the one by the other, it will be found that Nineveh contained within its walls only thirteen thousand five hundred furlongs, and that Babylon contained fourteen thousand four hundred.

† περιβαλετο τειχος τη πολει σταδιων τριακοσιων ἑξηκοντα. CCCLX stadiorum muro urbem circumdedit. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 68. Edit. Steph. p. 95. Edit. Rhod. Totius operis ambitus CCCLXVIII stadia complectitur. Quint. Curt. lib. v. cap. 1.

‡ κεεται εν πεδιῳ μεγαλω, μεγαθος εουσα, μεἰωπον ἑκαστον, εικοσι και εκατον σταδιων, εουσης τεἰραϝωνου. ητο σταδιοι της περιοδου της πολιος γινονἰαι συναπαντες ογδωκοντα και τετρακοσιοι. oppidum situm est in planitie ingenti, forma quadrata, magnitudine quoquo versus centenûm vicenûm stadiorum, in summa quadringentorum et octoginta, in circuitu quatuor laterum urbis. Herod. lib. i. cap. 178. p. 74. Edit. Gale.

Our way from thence presented us with nothing worthy of peculiar notice, excepting here and there scattered fragments of pottery

It was, too, as ancient, or more ancient, than Nineveh, for in the words of Moses, speaking of Nimrod, (Gen. x. 10.) it was 'the beginning of his kingdom,' that is the first city, or the capital city in his dominions. Several heathen authors say, that Semiramis, but most (as † Quintus Curtius asserts) that Belus built it: and Belus was very probably the same as Nimrod. But whoever was the first founder of this city, we may reasonably suppose that it received very great improvements afterwards, and Nebuchadnezzar particularly repaired and enlarged and beautified it to such a degree, that he may in a manner be said to have built it: as he boasted himself, (Dan. iv. 30.) 'Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?' Nor is this asserted only in Scripture, but is likewise attested by heathen authors, Megasthenes, Berosus, and Abydenus, whose words are quoted by ‡ Josephus and Eusebius. By one means or other, Babylon became so great and famous a city as to give name to a very large empire; and it is called in Scripture (Dan. iv. 30.) 'great Babylon:' (Isa. xlii. 19.) 'the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency;' (Isa. xiv. 4.) 'the golden city;' (Isa. xlvii. 5.) 'the lady of kingdoms;' (Jer. li. 13.) 'abundant in treasures;' (Jer. li. 41.) 'the praise of the whole earth;' and its beauty, strength, and grandeur; its walls, temples, palaces, and

† Semiramis eam condiderat: vel, ut plerique credidere. Belus. Quint. Curt. ibid.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. lib. x. cap. 11, sect. 1, p. 459. Edit. Hudson. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 41, p. 457. Edit. Vigeri.

and bricks, with many canals, some apparently ancient, and others modern, which crossed our way at intervals, all of them leading from the Euphrates in an easterly direction towards

hanging gardens, the banks of the river, and the artificial canals and lakes made for the draining of that river, in the seasons of its overflowings, are described with such pomp and magnificence by the heathen authors, that it might deservedly be reputed one of the wonders of the world. The fullest and best account of these things in English is to be found in the second book of that very valuable and very useful work, Dr. Prideaux's Connection. Though Babylon was seated in a low watery plain, yet in Scripture (Jer. li. 25.) it is called 'a mountain,' on account of the great height of its walls and towers, its palaces and temples: and † Berosus, speaking of some of its buildings, saith that they appeared most like mountains. Its 'gates of brass,' and its 'broad walls,' are particularly mentioned in Scripture: (Isa. xlv. 2. Jer. li. 58.) and the city ‡ had an hundred gates, twenty-five on each side, all made of solid brass; and its walls according to § Herodotus, were three hundred and fifty feet in height, and eighty-seven in thickness, and six chariots could go abreast upon them, as ‖ Diodorus affirms after Ctesias."—*Newton on the Prophecies*, pp. 158—160.

† την οψιν αποδους ομοιοτατην τοις ορεσι——quibus speciem dedit montibus persimilem. Joseph. Antiq. ibid.

‡ Herod. lib. i. cap. 179, p. 74. Edit. Gale.

§ Herod. ibid. cap. 178. Prideaux, ibid.

‖ ὡστε το μεν πλατος ειναι των τειχων ἐξ ἁρμασιν ἱπποσιμον. ut mœnium latitudo sex juxta curribus vehendis sufficeret. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 68. Edit. Steph. p. 96. Edit. Rhod.

the Tigris, and no doubt originally connecting the waters of both these great rivers.

It was about seven o'clock when we came abreast of the high mound, called by the natives, "El Mujēllibe," from the Arabic, Mukāllibe, or Makloube, as Europeans have more frequently written it, signifying "overturned." * This is nearly visible all the way from Mohāwil, and lies to the right or west of the direct road from Bagdad, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile. We turned out of our path to examine this, as the first object of interest presenting itself on coming from the north. On approaching it, we passed first over a deep outer ditch, which we should have taken for a canal, but that it was evidently of

* "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah: it shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there: and the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged."—*Isaiah*, chap. xiii. v. 19.

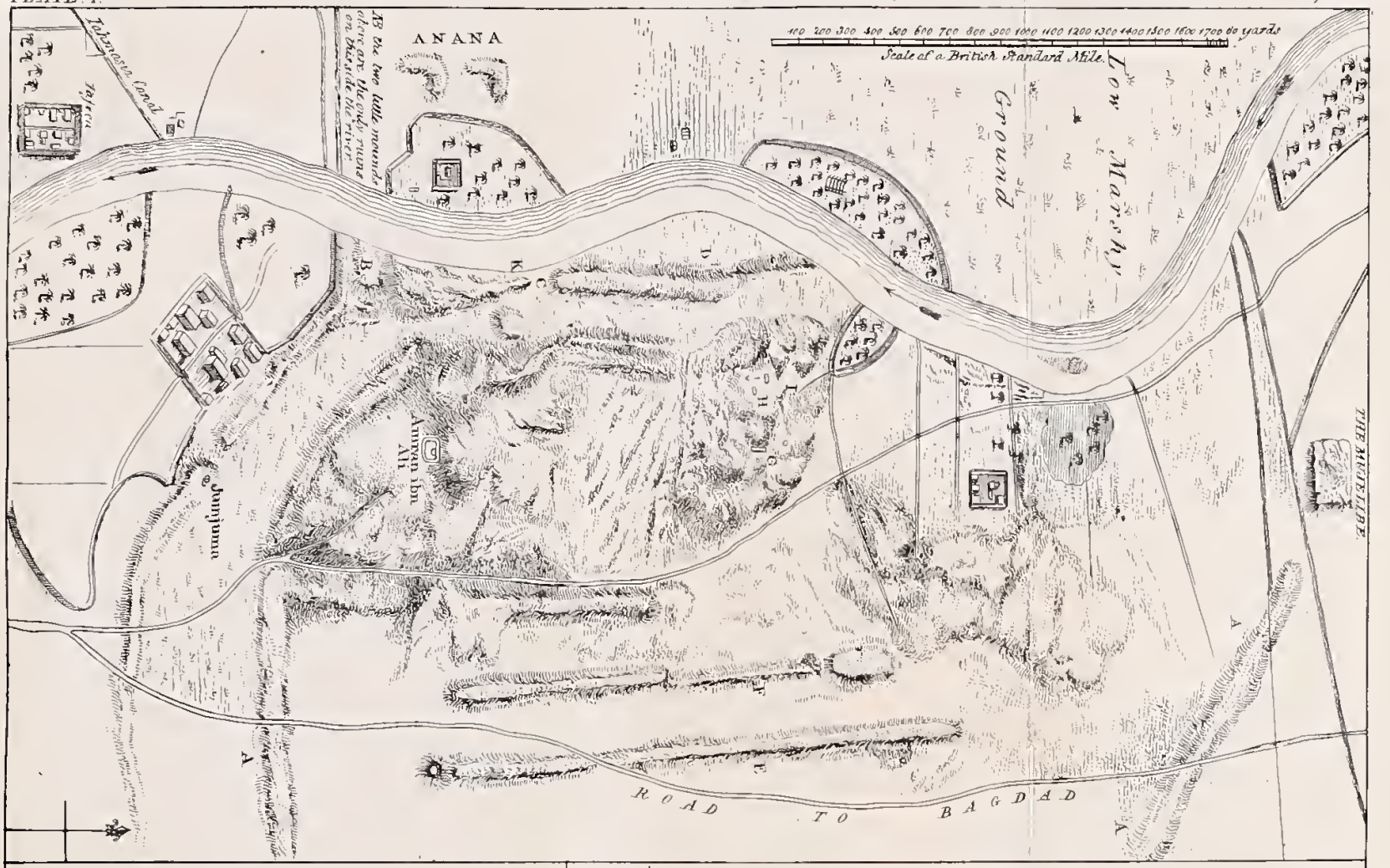
a circular form, and encompassed the whole pile; and next, some yards further on, we passed down into the bed of an inner ditch, which was broader, lower, and more distinctly marked than the outer one. The mound then rises in a steep ascent, over which the passenger can only go up by the winding paths worn by frequent visits to the ruined edifice.

The general form of this ruin is between an oblong and a square, all its sides being rendered irregular by decay. The four cardinal views given of it, by Mr. Rich, in his "Memoir of Babylon," appear to be admirably correct, and his measurements were all confirmed by us on the spot. These give to the whole circuit, at the foot of the mound, two thousand one hundred and ten feet; and to the elevation of the highest angles at the south-east, a height of one hundred and forty-one feet.

On gaining the summit of this large mass, we had the first sight of the Euphrates, flowing majestically along through verdant banks, and its serpentine course apparently losing itself in the palm-groves of Hillah, whose mosques and minarets we could just perceive, about five miles to the southward of us. We had from hence, too, a very commanding view

The RUINS of BABYLON on the EAST BANK of the EUPHRATES,

PLATE. I. (From Rich's Memoir in Les Mines de l'Orient) Vol. 2 pa. 258.



A. *The mounds of Amran.*

B. *The Tomb of Amran ibn Ali.*

C. *The Embankment Urns containing Human Bones were found at the foot of this part of it close to the water.*

D. *The Ground gained from the River by its having altered its course.*

(Marked also D in the Plan.)

C. J. Rich del. F. Ross Lith.

VIEW of the EMBANKMENT (B & K in the Plan) *together with part of the* EASTERN RUINS *from the Opposite bank of the* RIVER

Printed at Ross's Typolithographic Press 4 Howard Str.t Strand

of the ruins around us, which seemed to correspond so perfectly with the Plan accompanying Mr. Rich's Memoir as to leave nothing to be added to that interesting document.*

* Mr. Rich, who had devoted his attention to this subject very soon after his taking up his abode at Bagdad, and had made several visits to the ruins of Babylon, under circumstances which gave him every facility of accurate observation, embodied his researches in a Memoir, which he addressed to the Baron von Hammer, the learned editor of a folio periodical, published at Vienna, in which the Memoir in question was originally inserted. It was this copy that I had the pleasure to read, with the opportunity of consulting its accomplished author, at Bagdad: and to this alone, the references here made refer. The Memoir was afterwards printed in a separate form, by some of Mr. Rich's friends in England: but this soon became so scarce, as not to be attainable by purchase; and after considerable pains to procure a copy in England, I have not yet been successful. This is, perhaps, the less to be wondered at, as the author himself, in a "Second Memoir on Babylon," written about a year after my leaving Bagdad, in answer to some remarks of Major Rennel on the "First Memoir," originally communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, and afterwards published in the Archæologia, states, that he himself, up to the date of his writing the "Second Memoir," which was in July, 1817, had not yet seen an English copy of the "First," though it must then have been printed a considerable time.—The extreme scarcity of the Memoir, in either form, added to the accuracy of the Plan and Views which accompany it, induce me to believe that I shall perform an acceptable ser-

After examining this mound in all its details, we were confirmed in the opinion that it had been enclosed with walls and ditches encompassing it all around. The marks of these were visible on the eastern and southern sides, where we entered on and departed from the pile; and Mr. Rich supplies its continuation, when he says, (p. 145,) "At the foot of the Mujellibé, about seventy yards from it, on the northern and western sides, are traces of a very low mound of earth, which may have formed an enclosure round the whole." It was also evident that it was a pile, composed of many different edifices, of various forms, appropriated to various uses, and constructed of different materials: not in any respect corresponding, therefore, with the ancient descriptions of the Tower of Belus, for the remains of which it has been generally taken. On this subject, Mr. Rich has well observed, (p. 153,)—"All travellers, since the time of Benjamin of Tudela, who first revived the remembrance of these ruins, whenever they fancied themselves near the site of Babylon, universally fixed

vice to the reader, and do service to the reputation of its lamented author, by the addition of both to the Illustrations of the present volume.

upon the most conspicuous eminence to represent the Tower of Belus." This was natural enough, even when he and his early followers thought they had recognised it among the ruins of Felugiah, higher up the Euphrates; and was still more excusable, when Pietro della Valle selected this mound, certainly the most probable one of all those on the *east* side of the river, as the remains of that tower "whose top was to reach unto heaven."*

On the exterior surface of this mound of the Mujellibé, are sufficient remains of walls and buildings to prove that its base is still a solid building, and scarcely at all enlarged by rubbish. This is also the case on its summit, where walls and portions of buildings are still open in many places; and even where loose rubbish is found to cover the surface, it is in very small quantities, formed by the gradual decomposition of the outer parts exposed to the action of the elements, and strewed over with fragments of brick and pottery.†

* Genesis, chap. xi. v. 4.

† The most minute and laboured description of the ancient Babylon is, perhaps, that of Diodorus Siculus, who, however, writing not more than half a century before the

There is every reason to believe, from the appearance of its summit, and the absence of any great quantity of rubbish there and around

birth of Christ, speaks of a city which had been laid in ruins long before his day, and was even then an object of antiquarian research and uncertainty. As his description contains a reference to each of the several quarters and edifices, which will be mentioned in the succeeding pages of the text, it may be agreeable to such readers as may be desirous of minutely investigating the subject, to have this description before them; under this impression it is here inserted:—

"Semiramis was naturally of an high and aspiring spirit, ambitious to excel all her predecessors in glorious actions, and therefore employed all her thoughts about the buildng of a city in the province of Babylon; and to this end, having provided architects, artists, and all other necessaries for the work, she got together two millions of men out of all parts of the empire, to be employed in building of the city. It was so built, as that the river Euphrates ran through the middle of it, and she compassed it round with a wall of three hundred and sixty furlongs in circuit, and adorned with many stately turrets, and such was the state and grandeur of the work, that the walls were of that breadth, as that six chariots abreast might be driven together upon them. The height was such, as exceeded all men's belief that heard of it, (as Ctesias the Cnidian relates.) But Clitarchus, and those who afterwards went over with Alexander into Asia, have written that the walls were three hundred and sixty-five furlongs, the queen making them of that compass, to the end that the furlongs should be as many in number as the days of the year. They were of

its base, that it was never built on to a much greater height than that at which its highest part now stands, or one hundred and forty

brick, cemented with brimstone—in height, as Ctesias says, fifty orgyas, (each six feet,) but as some of the later writers report, but fifty cubits only, and that the breadth was but a little more than what would allow two chariots to be driven in front. There were two hundred and fifty turrets, in height and thickness, proportionable to the largeness of the wall. It is not to be wondered at, that there were so few towers upon a wall of so great a circuit, being that, in many places round the city, there were deep morasses, so that it was judged to no purpose to raise turrets there, where they were so naturally fortified. Between the wall and the houses, there was a space left round the city of two hundred feet.

"That the work might be the more speedily despatched, to each of her friends was allotted a furlong, with an allowance of all expences necessary for their several parts, and commanded all should be finished in a year's time, which being diligently perfected with the queen's approbation, she then made a bridge over the narrowest part of the river, five furlongs in length. On either side of the river, she raised a bank as broad as the wall, and with great cost drew it out in length an hundred furlongs. She built likewise two palaces at each end of the bridge on the banks of the river, where she might have a prospect over the whole city, and make her passage, as by keys, to the most convenient places in it, as she had occasion. And whereas Euphrates runs through the midst of Babylon, making its course to the south, the palaces lie the one on the east and the other on the west side of the river, both built at exceeding costs

feet from the level of the soil; whereas the Tower of Belus, according to the lowest computation, is stated at five hundred feet in per-

and expense. For that on the west had a high and stately wall, made of well-burnt bricks, sixty furlongs in compass, (seven miles and a half;) within this was drawn another of a round circumference, upon which were portrayed on the bricks, before they were burnt, all sorts of living creatures, as if it were to the life, laid with great art in curious colours. This wall was in circuit forty furlongs, three hundred bricks thick, and in height, (as Ctesias says,) fifty orgyas, or one hundred yards, upon which were turrets one hundred and forty yards high. The third and most inward wall immediately surrounded the palace, thirty furlongs in compass, and far surmounted the middle wall both in height and thickness, and on this wall and towers were represented the shapes of all sorts of living creatures, artificially represented in most lively colours. Especially was represented a general hunt of all sorts of wild beasts, each four cubits high, and upwards; amongst these was to be seen Semiramis on horseback, striking a leopard through with a dart; and next to her, her husband Ninus in close fight with a lion, piercing him with his lance. To this palace, likewise, she built three gates, under which were apartments of brass for entertainments, into which passages were opened by a certain engine. This palace far excelled that on the other side of the river, both in greatness and adornments. For the outmost wall of that, (namely on the west,) made of well-burnt brick, was but thirty furlongs in compass. When the river was turned aside into a reservoir, and a vault built across its old bed, the stream was suffered to flow over the work in its old channel, so that

pendicular height, and was formed of eight stages, retiring one within another in a pyramidal form. The pile now remaining is

Semiramis could go from one palace to the other by this vault, without passing over the river. She made likewise two brazen gates, at either end of the vaults, which continued to the time of the Persian Empire.

"In the middle of the city, she built a Temple to Jupiter, whom the Babylonians call Belus, of which, since writers differ among themselves, and the work is now wholly decayed through length of time, there is nothing that can with certainty be related concerning it, yet it is apparent, that it was of exceeding great height, and that by the advantage of it, the Chaldean astrologers exactly observed the setting and rising of the stars. The whole was built of brick, cemented with brimstone, with great art and cost. Upon the top were placed three statues of beaten gold, of Jupiter, Juno, and Rhea, with other splendid vessels, tables, and ornaments of gold and precious stones, weighing altogether about six thousand Babylonish talents; but all these the Persian kings sacrilegiously carried away, and length of time has either altogether consumed or much defaced the palaces, and the other structures, so that at this day, but a small part of this Babylon is inhabited, and the greatest part which lay within the walls is turned into pasture and tillage.

"There was also a hanging garden, (as it is called,) near the citadel, not built by Semiramis, but by a later prince, called Cyrus, for the sake of a courtezan, who, being a Persian (as they say) by birth, and coveting meadows on mountain tops, desired the king, by an artificial plantation, to imitate the land in Persia. This garden was

nearly equal in height to two of such stages, yet no appearance of any division is any where to be seen in the outer surface of the sides;

four hundred feet square, and the ascent up to it was as to the top of a mountain, and had buildings and apartments out of one into another, like a theatre. Under the steps to the ascent, were built arches one above another, rising gently by degrees, which supported the whole plantation. The highest arch upon which the platform of the garden was laid, was fifty cubits high, and the garden itself was surrounded with battlements and bulwarks. The walls were made very strong, built at no small charge and expense, being two and twenty feet thick, and every sally port ten feet wide. Over the several stories of this fabric were laid beams, and summers of huge massy stones, each sixteen feet long, and four broad. The roof over all these was first covered with reeds, daubed with abundance of brimstone, (or bitumen;) then, upon them, was laid double tiles, pargeted together with a hard and durable mortar, and over them all, was a covering, with sheets of lead, that the wet which drenched through the earth might not rot the foundation. Upon all these, was laid earth of a convenient depth, sufficient for the growth of the greatest trees. When the soil was laid even and smooth, it was planted with all sorts of trees, which both for beauty and greatness might delight the spectators. The arches (which stood one above another, and by that means darted light sufficient one into another,) had in them many stately rooms of all kinds, and for all purposes. But there was one that had in it certain engines, whereby it drew plenty of water out of the river, through certain conduits and conveyances from the platform of the garden, and nobody with-

though, as before remarked, walls and masonry of brick-work are visible there in many parts, and these prove, beyond a doubt, that there has been no great accumulation of rubbish in those directions.

The six uppermost stages wanting to complete the whole height, (supposing this to have been the Tower of Belus, as has been inaccurately assumed,) could not have disappeared without leaving an immense mass of rubbish, occasioned by their fall or removal; and, indeed, it is said, both by Strabo and Arrian, that when Alexander was desirous of repairing the sepulchre of Belus, it was found to be too great a labour, for it was thought that ten thousand men would not be able to remove the rubbish in two months. This is a feature which does not at all apply to the present state of the Mujellibé, where but little loose rubbish is found beyond the limits of the building itself.

The area of this pile already exceeds, by about two hundred feet, a square stadium, which is the extent given to the base of the

out was the wiser, or knew what was done. The garden (as we said before) was built in later ages."—*Diodorus Siculus*, book ii. c. 1.

Tower of Belus; so that if any works remain perfect on the outer surface of the present heap, they must, to preserve the measure within its present limits, be considered as the original outworks of the pile. Strabo says, that the sides of the tower were built of *burnt* bricks; and Diodorus states, that it was of an exceeding great height, built of brick, and cemented with bitumen.* The exterior parts of the building here present only *unburnt* bricks, cemented by a thick mortar of *clay;* and between every course is a layer of reeds, or large rushes, laid cross-ways, like the weavings of a mat, as at Akkerkoof.

The interior opens to view the remains of small buildings, some of burnt brick cemented with lime, others of unburnt brick cemented by clay, and these evidently of various forms and sizes, and apparently constructed at dif-

* See also Genesis, chap. i. v. 4. "And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar." Rauwolff mentions the bitumen or pitch, for which Babylonia has always been celebrated, as existing in abundance in his day. "Near the bridge are several heaps of Babylonian pitch, to pitch ships withal, which is in some places grown so hard, that you may walk over it, but in others, that which hath been lately brought thither is so soft, that you may see every step you make in it."—p. 138.

ferent periods, though all doubtless of the Babylonian age.

If this had been the Tower of Belus, and its six upper stages had fallen to ruin, the summit would necessarily have been covered with its vestiges; for it cannot be supposed, that the Arabs would have taken away, in any length of time, what the labourers of Alexander thought it too great a work to undertake. Yet no such extensive vestiges are found, and the buildings which compose this pile are still so open, as to admit of being dug into with very little trouble by the people of the country, who search there for burnt bricks, or by travellers and visitors who excavate for discovery. Major Rennel, whose authority is deservedly so high with regard to ancient geography and local positions, has followed Della Valle in considering this as the remains of the Tower of Belus; but, as Mr. Rich very accurately observes, "that great geographer does not establish its position from that of the other ruins, but assumes *it* as a datum to ascertain the situation and extent of the rest of Babylon,"* so that Major Rennel's authority is in this instance no

* Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient," p. 154.

other than that of Della Valle's, which he has followed as the best then known to him.*

The arguments which Major Rennel has drawn together, in favour of the supposition of the Tower of Belus being on the *east* side of the river, are so fully answered by Mr. Rich, as to leave it still a matter of as great uncertainty as before, whether it was on the east or on the west. All that seems to be perfectly clear with regard to their relative positions, is, that the Temple of Jupiter Belus was on one side of the river, or occupied nearly the centre of one of the divisions of the city, while the royal palace occupied the other.† It is this palace which I conceive the Mujellibé to have been, as corresponding equally in situation, and much more in the appearance of its remains, with the building alluded to, than with the Tower of Belus, as far as that has been described. There appear to have been two palaces in Babylon, one of

* Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus, by Major Rennel, in 4to.

† "In the centre of each division of the city there is a circular space, surrounded by a wall. In one of these, stands the royal palace, which fills a large and strongly defended space. The temple of Jupiter Belus occupies the other."—*Herodotus. Clio.* 181.

which is said, by Diodorus, to be seated on the *east*, the other on the *west* of the Euphrates; and these, with the Temple of Belus, were always regarded as the most wonderful of the public structures. Herodotus, as we have seen, places the temple and the palace each in its respective division of the city, as occupying a circular space there, surrounded by a wall; and he adds, that the latter was strongly defended. "The enclosure of one of the palaces," says Rennel, "which appears to be what is called by others the *citadel*, was a square of fifteen stadia, or near a mile and a half." Again, "Diodorus is pointed with respect to the palace being near to the bridge, and consequently to the river's bank; and he is borne out by the descriptions of Strabo and Curtius, both of whom represent the hanging gardens to be very near the river, and all agree that they were within or adjacent to the square of the fortified palace."

The pile of the Mujellibé presents four sides, each of steep ascent, and in this respect, it resembles in general form the artificial mounds on which the ancient castles of Hhoms, El Hhearim, and Aleppo, in Syria, and that of Arbela, or Arweel, on the east of

the Tigris, are erected. "The western face of this mound," says Mr. Rich, "which is the least elevated, is the most interesting, on account of the appearance of building which it presents. Near the summit of it appears a low wall, with interruptions, built of *unburnt* bricks, mixed up with chopped straw or reeds, and cemented with *clay* mortar of great thickness, having between every course a layer of reeds; and on the north side are also some vestiges of a similar construction. The south-west angle is crowned by something like a turret or lanthorn; the other angles are in a less perfect state, but may originally have been ornamented in a similar manner.*

These features, added to the circumstance of its being evidently surrounded by ditches, and perhaps walls, with its situation within a quarter of a mile of the river, are strong arguments in favour of its being considered the castellated palace described. The only argument yet suggested against this, is the interior appearance and solidity of the ruin. Nothing is more evident, however, than that the interior was composed of many different buildings, of various forms, magnitudes, and

* Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient."

materials; which may be best seen, it is true, from an inspection of the pile itself, but which may also be gathered from the written reports of those who have recorded their observations on the spot.

Della Valle calls it a vast heap of ruins, of so heterogeneous a kind, that he could find nothing whereon to fix his judgment, as to what it might have been in its original condition. On the top he saw what might be taken for caverns or cells, but they were in so ruinous a state, that he could not judge whether they made a part of the original design, or were excavated; since, in fact, it only appeared a mass of confusion, none of its members being distinguishable. He observed, also, the different materials of which the whole was composed, there being, in some places, furnace-baked bricks, with lime and bitumen as cement; in others, unburnt bricks, with a mortar of clay and broken reeds. The foundations going around the great mass were also noted by him, at a distance of fifty or sixty paces from its foot. Mr. Rich's description, which is still more full and detailed, proves also the existence of chambers, passages, and

cellars, of different sizes and forms, and built of different materials.

The apparent solidity of this ruin, as urged against its being a castle, is caused, therefore, by the spaces between these separate edifices being now filled up by the rubbish of such part of the buildings as are fallen into ruins. Besides, it is known that temples are in general very open buildings, in all parts of the world; while palaces and castles, and particularly those of the East, are mere fortified enclosures, crowded with the habitations of all those who occupy them in the service of their chiefs. Even in this particular, also, the pile in question would therefore seem to be rather the elevated mound, on which a fortified palace, with all its offices, stood, than a tower or temple, rising to a height of five hundred feet.

The circumstance of some natives having found in this pile a coffin of mulberry wood, containing a human body enclosed in a light wrapper, and partially covered with bitumen, as well as of Mr. Rich having made a similar discovery of a coffin containing a skeleton in high preservation, with its appropriate amu-

lets of Babylonian days, and, indeed, all the interesting results of his excavations there, are such as might, with the strictest propriety, belong to a castle or a palace, but could not well have been found in a temple, within the sacred precincts of which the dead were never interred.

After examining the ruined heap of the Mujellibé, and bringing away with us some fragments of hard, though apparently not furnace-burnt, bricks, with inscriptions on them, in the arrow-headed or Babylonian character, we left the pile, to extend our observations, and soon came to the river's bank. We thought the stream of the Euphrates to be much wider here than any part of the Tigris that we had seen; and its general resemblance to the Nile, above Cairo, struck me very forcibly. Its banks were lined with date-groves, on both sides of the stream. Its current flowed tranquilly along, at a rate of less than two miles per hour; and in the centre were seen some of those rounded sand-banks, covered with rushes, so common in the river of Egypt.

The gardens on this, the eastern side, are watered artificially from the river, after the

following manner. A canal, of narrow dimensions, is let in from the main stream, to a distance of twenty or thirty feet; a frame-work is then erected over it, made of the trunks of date-trees, two sections of a trunk being used as posts, one as a transverse bar, and two others sloping inwards, resting upon this bar. In the ends of these last are pulleys, over which traverses a cord. To the one end of the cord is affixed a large leather bucket, which descends to the river by its own weight, and fills. The other end is fastened to a bullock, which is made to descend over a steep artificial slope, at an angle of forty-five degrees, and thus, uniting its weight with its strength, it easily raises the water. This is then discharged from the leather bucket by a long pipe of the same material, into a channel somewhat above the level of the garden itself, so that it readily finds its way into the general reservoir there. Each of these bullocks has a driver to attend it; but, notwithstanding this, the method is as cheap and effective as any that could be contrived to be executed by mere animal labour.

The distance between the Mujellibé and the next great mound to the southward of it,

sometimes called by the same name, at others exclusively "Babel," and still more generally "El Kassr," or the Palace, certainly exceeds a mile. The low intermediate space is covered with grass and verdure, and has a small enclosed garden with date-trees near its centre.

We crossed this valley, and ascended the mound of the Kassr, or Palace, which is more irregular in its form, and seemingly more extensive in size, than the one we had just quitted. We traversed this in every direction, as we had done the other, before any conclusions were ventured on; and then the first which presented itself, was that this was also the site of an extensive palace, with perhaps the hanging gardens attached to it. Were it not that the palaces are said to have been seated on opposite sides of the river, I should have said, when looking towards the Mujellibé, "There was certainly the old palace, and here is the site of the new;" but this would be at variance with the accounts of their relative position, and more particularly with the tunnel under the Euphrates, by which Semiramis is said to have gone from one palace to the other, without crossing over

the river above. It is true, that the river, which here bends easterly, might have once made a sharper turn in that direction, so as to fill the lowand fertile ground, now seen like the bed of a stream between these palaces, and thus these buildings might then have stood on opposite sides of the *stream*, with regard to each other, but on the same side or quarter of the city, with regard to the general direction of the stream itself, which was nearly north and south. This, however, is certain, that if either of the three great masses here be taken for the palace, the garden, or the tower of Belus, the principal structures of ancient Babylon, there is nothing on the other side remaining to correspond with the edifices, which were always supposed to be immediately opposite to these on the other bank of the river. The ground there, as marked in Mr. Rich's plan, is low and marshy,* and presents no such appearance of mounds, or

* "I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and son and nephew, saith the Lord: I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction."—*Isaiah*, chap. xiv. v. 22, 23.

the slightest vestige of former buildings, of any description whatever.

It is possible, indeed, that from its being subject to inundation, the same operations of the water, which have swept away every appearance of the embankment along its edge,* may, in a succession of so many ages, have carried away the remains of a palace, standing on the western side, and completely filled up the tunnel of communication to it from the east.† I should even then, however, consider

* Pliny says, that the Euphrates passed through the centre of Babylon, between two moles or embankments, which were faced with brick, cemented by bitumen. To connect the two divisions of the city, there was a fine stone bridge, in the construction of which arches are spoken of, and it was reckoned one of the wonders of the East.—*Nat. Hist.* b. v. c. 1.

† Rauwolff, who came down the Euphrates all the way from Beer, and approached the ruins of Babylon by water, describes the remains of the arches in his day, near the stream, which might either have been the vestiges of an ancient bridge, as he supposes, or the remains of the place of entrance into the tunnel here adverted to. This traveller says:—"This country is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare, that I should have doubted very much, whether this potent and powerful city (which once was the most stately and famous one of the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of Sinar) did stand there, if I should not have known it by its situation,

the mound of the Mujellibé, as that of the new palace, supposing the old one to have been immediately opposite on the other side; while the temple of Belus would be still to discover on the same side, or west of the Euphrates, in some part not yet defined.

The citadel or palace, (for it served both these purposes, and was the only one within the walls,) was surrounded by an exterior wall of sixty stadia in circumference; inside this was another of forty stadia, the interior face of which was ornamented with painting, as is the custom of the Persians of the present day; and again within this last was a third, with designs of hunting. On the opposite side of the river, and on the same side with

and several ancient and delicate antiquities that still are standing hereabouts in great desolation. First, by the old bridge, which was laid over the Euphrates, (which also is called Sud by the prophet Baruch in his first chapter,) whereof there are some pieces and arches still remaining, and to be seen at this very day a little above where we landed. These arches are built of burnt brick, and so strong, that it is admirable; and that so much the more, because all along the river as we came from Bir, where the river is a great deal smaller, we saw never a bridge, wherefore I say it is admirable which way they could build a bridge here, where the river is at least half a league broad, and very deep besides."—pp. 137, 138.

the temple of Belus, was situated the old palace, the outer wall of which was no larger than the inner wall of the new. Above the new palace or citadel, were the hanging gardens, which, according to Strabo, formed a square of four plethora for each face, and were fifty cubits in height.*

Diodorus, as we have seen, expressly says, that the palace was near to the river; and Strabo and Curtius represent the hanging gardens to be on its banks, all agreeing that they were within, or adjacent to, the square of the fortified palace. Strabo says, "the Euphrates flows through the middle of the city, and the hanging gardens are adjacent to the river, from whence they are watered;" and it appears natural enough, says Rennel, that the princess should avail herself of the prospect of a noble river, a stadium in breadth, flowing near the palace. There is little doubt, says the same writer, but that the hanging gardens contained at least three and half acres. Diodorus says, they formed a square of four hundred feet. Curtius, that they were supported by twenty walls, eleven feet distant from each other, which spaces, together with the thickness of

* Mr. Rich's Memoir, p. 157.

the walls, will make up at least four hundred feet. They had a view over the city walls, and were said to be upwards of a hundred feet in height.*

The gardens then had evidently buildings in them, besides the masonry of the lofty mounds on which they stood, and as they were in themselves the most wonderful of the public structures of Babylon, whether for enormity of labour or expense bestowed on them, nothing is more probable, than that they should have been embellished with appropriate edifices, such as summer-houses, bowers, alcoves, &c. in all the luxury of the East. Diodorus expressly says, that there

* Pliny says, that the castle had twenty stadia circuit, and the towers of it thirty feet in the earth, and eighty in height. The hanging gardens were here constructed on columns, arches, and walls, and contained terraces of earth, watered by machines from the river, producing forests of large trees. Its height was equal to that of the castle walls, and from the fine air enjoyed there, fruits of all kinds were produced, and the shade and refreshing coolness of the place were delicious in such a climate. It was said that a king of Syria, who reigned in Babylon, constructed these gardens to gratify a wife whom he violently loved, and who, having a passion for woods and forests, thus enjoyed, in the midst of a great metropolis, the sylvan pleasures of a country life.—*Nat. Hist.* b. v. c. 1.

were drawn, in colours, on the bricks used in building the wall of the great palace, various animals, as well as a representation of a general hunting of wild beasts. The gardens, as forming a part of the palace, from their comparative proximity to it, and certainly within the same grand enclosure of sixty stadia and forty stadia which surrounded the whole, would admit of as high embellishments in its more interior retreats, as those which were used in the inner court or palace wall.

It may be interesting to examine how far the features of this second mound correspond with those ascribed to the palace and gardens by the authorities already quoted. Its local situation near the river's brink, so as to have been watered by machines from the stream, and its distance of about a mile from the supposed palace, with no other similar mound nearer to it, gives it a strong claim to similarity of position. The size of this mound, as given by Mr. Rich, is seven hundred yards in length and breadth, its form being nearly a square; but then its south-west angle is connected with the north-west angle of a larger mass of the same description, called Amran, by a ridge of considerable height, and nearly

one hundred yards in breadth. The larger mass or mound of Amran presents the figure of a quadrant, and is eleven hundred yards in length, and eight hundred in breadth. The height of both these mounds is irregular, but that of the first may be from sixty to seventy, and that of the last from fifty to sixty feet above the level of the plain. There are here, then, two large elevated masses, connected by a causeway of proportionate height, and one hundred yards in breadth, going across a valley of five hundred and fifty yards in length; and these masses each nearly of the same breadth, the space occupied by the whole being two thousand three hundred and fifty yards in length, eight hundred in breadth, and about twenty in height.

Between these mounds and the river is another running along its very edge, and called, by Mr. Rich, its "embankment," of which he gives this description. "The river's bank is skirted by a ruin, (B) which I shall, for perspicuity's sake, call its embankment. It commences on a line with the lower extremity of the southernmost grand mound, (or Amran,) and is there nearly three hundred yards broad at its base, from the east angle of which a

mound proceeds, taking a sweep to the south-east, so as to be nearly parallel with, and forty yards more to the south, than that boundary; and losing itself in the plain, being, in fact, the most southerly of all the ruins. The embankment is continued in a right line to the north, and diminishes in breadth, but increases in elevation, till at the distance of seven hundred and fifty yards from its commencement, where it is forty feet in perpendicular height, and is interrupted by a break (C) of nearly the same breadth with the river. To this succeeds a piece of flat ground, apparently gained from the river by a slight change in its course, it being one hundred and ten yards in length, and two hundred and fifty in greatest breadth; and along its base are traces of a continuation of the embankment, which is there a narrow line that soon loses itself."

In another place, when speaking of the Mujellibé, or Pietro della Valle's ruin, which is here assumed as the castellated palace, this same writer says, "The northern termination of the plan is Pietro della Valle's ruin, from the south-east angle of which, (to which it evidently once joined, being only obliterated there by two canals,) proceeds a narrow ridge

or mound of earth, wearing the appearance of having been a boundary wall. (A) This ridge forms a kind of circular enclosure, and joins the south-east point of the most southerly of the two grand masses." Again: "The whole of the area enclosed by the boundary on the east and south, and the river on the west, is two miles and six hundred yards in breadth from east to west; and from Pietro della Valle's ruin to the most southerly mound of all, which has been already mentioned as branching off from the embankment, two miles and one thousand yards in length from north to south."

I have collected together these authorities, rather than set down any original descriptions of my own; first, because more weight is generally attached to reasonings on facts resting on the testimony of others; and next, because having gone over all the ground with Mr. Rich's plan and observations in my hand, and confirmed the accuracy of these by ocular inspection, the leading facts became my own by adoption, and formed the best foundation for subsequent reasonings and inferences. From all these enumerated details, we collect then, that near the supposed palace, and close upon

the river's brink, are two grand masses, of the elevation of sixty feet, connected together by a broad and lofty causeway, and faced by an embankment on the edge of the stream: the whole occupying, in its present state, a space of two thousand three hundred and fifty yards in length, by eleven hundred yards in breadth.

The hanging gardens are described to be precisely in this situation, near the palace, close to the river, and watered by engines from its stream. They are said, by one authority, to have been fifty cubits, and by another to have exceeded a hundred feet, in height, and to have occupied three and half acres in extent. The height is as near the truth as could be expected at this distant period; and it remains to be seen how nearly the extent of the ground it now occupies agrees with that assigned to it when perfect.

The palace and the gardens were said to be surrounded by an outer wall of sixty stadia, an inner one of forty, and a third, the dimensions of which are not given. The southern extreme of this outer wall is to be found in the ridge which goes off south-east from the eastern angle of the embankment (B) near the

river, which is the southernmost ruin of all, and four hundred yards to the south of the more perfect boundary wall (A.) The northern extreme of this same outer enclosure may be traced in the appearances of a boundary which were observed by Mr. Rich, to the north westward of the Mujellibé, at the distance of seventy yards, and were noticed also by myself. The inner boundary of forty stadia is still more distinctly to be traced in the circular mound marked (A) in Mr. Rich's plan; which, as he says, evidently once joined to the Mujellibé, or palace, from which it is now only separated by two canals, and which still preserves its connexion with the south-east angle of the great southern mound of Amran, supposed to be that of the hanging garden. The third wall may be found in the long straight mounds (E.F.) the fine materials of which it was formed having, no doubt, facilitated its destruction.

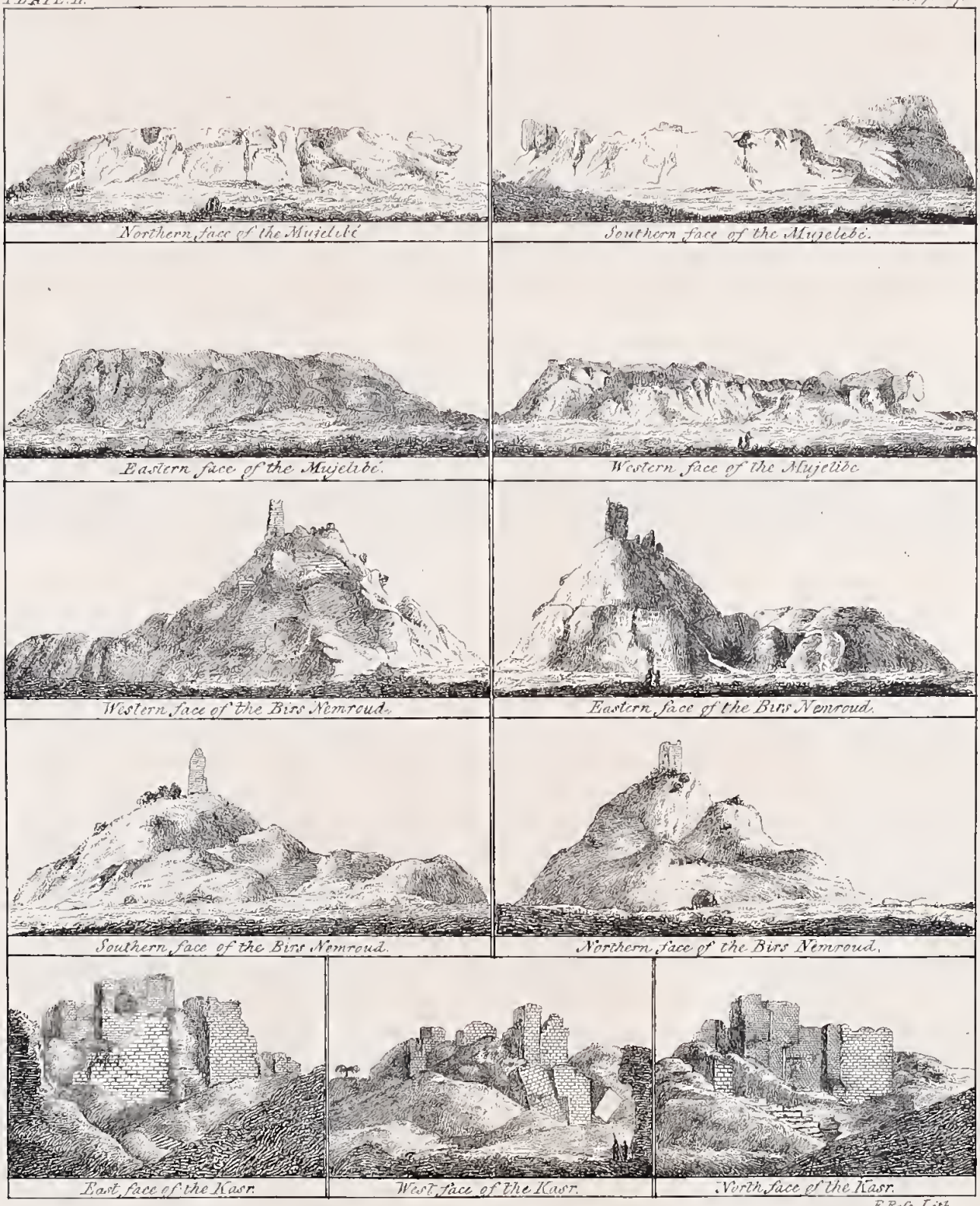
We may now compare more minutely the detailed description of these ruined heaps, in their present condition, with the ancient testimonies regarding them. We have seen that Diodorus describes the inner wall of the palace, which must have passed close by this, as being

highly ornamented with painted tiles, bearing devices of animals, hunting scenes, &c.; and it has been suggested that the buildings in these gardens would be likely to be of the most ornamented and highly-finished kind of those known in that age. The traveller, Beauchamp, when speaking of this *second* heap from the northward, after having seen the Mujellibé, which he calls the "Mount of Babel," says, "Above this mount, on the side of the river, are those immense ruins which have served and still serve for the building of Hillah, an Arabian city, containing ten or twelve thousand souls. Here are found those large and thick bricks, imprinted with unknown characters, specimens of which I have presented to the Abbé Barthelemy. This place, and the Mount of Babel, are commonly called, by the Arabs, 'Makloube,' that is to say, turned topsyturvy. I was informed by the master mason employed to dig for bricks, that the places from which he procured them were large thick walls, and sometimes chambers. He has frequently found earthen vessels, engraved marbles, and, about eight years ago, a statue as large as life, which he threw among the rubbish. On one wall of a chamber, he

found the figures of a cow, and of the sun and moon, formed of varnished bricks. Sometimes, idols of clay are found, representing human figures. I found one brick, on which was a lion, and on others a half moon in relief." After describing the finding a large sculptured block of black stone, and a piece of beautiful white and red granite, on these eastern ruins, he says, "On the same side of the city, as I was told by the master mason, there were walls of varnished bricks, which he supposed to have been a temple."*

Mr. Rich, in speaking of this same mound, which he calls the second grand heap of ruins, (in coming from the southward,) says, "This is the place where Beauchamp made his observations, and it is certainly the most interesting part of the ruins of Babylon; every vestige discoverable in it declares it to have been composed of buildings far superior to all the rest of which any traces are left on the eastern quarter; the bricks are of the finest description, and, notwithstanding this is the grand storehouse of them, and that the greatest sup-

* See Beauchamp's authority, as quoted by Major Rennel, in his Chapter on Babylon, in the Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus.



Northern face of the Mujelibé.
Southern face of the Mujelebé.
Eastern face of the Mujelibé.
Western face of the Mujelibe
Western face of the Birs Nemroud.
Eastern face of the Birs Nemroud.
Southern face of the Birs Nemroud.
Northern face of the Birs Nemroud.
East face of the Kasr.
West face of the Kasr.
North face of the Kasr.

C. J. Rich del.

F. Rose Lith.

From Les Mines de L' Orient

Views of the Principal Ruins still existing on the Site of the

ANCIENT BABYLON.

CHAPTER X.

SEARCH AFTER THE WALLS OF BABYLON.

It was a quarter before nine o'clock, when we departed from hence, to extend our excursion more easterly, to which we had been tempted by the sight of the high mounds in that direction, as well as by the report of there being one of particular interest there, called Al Hheimar, and by the persuasion that vestiges of ruins must exist beyond the boundary line, (A) which we conceived to mark only the enclosure of sixty stadia, that encompassed the castellated palace and its gardens.

We pursued our way to the eastward, over a ground of excellent soil, sometimes covered with pools of water in its hollows, and at others with the drifting sand of the Desert. As we proceeded, we observed patches of soil

CHAPTER X.

RETURN

FROM A DESERT EXCURSION IN SEARCH OF THE WALLS OF BABYLON.

strewed over with fragments of bricks and broken pottery, as if originally covered with detached masses of buildings, leaving only these vestiges to mark their site; while in the space around them, for some distance, no such fragments were seen, the ground in these intervals having been apparently used for no other purpose than cultivation.*

We passed, occasionally, long mounds, running from north to south, and saw others crossing them at right angles from east to west. Our first impression was, that these were the beds of canals, by which the ground had been irrigated subsequent to the destruction of Babylon, but which had since fallen into neglect. This opinion was, however, soon shaken by our observing the number and cross direction of these mounds to be such as could never have been the case, had they been canals. Some of them, it is true, might have been remains of channels by which

* The houses of the city did not touch the walls, but were at some distance from it. All the space within the city was not built, nor more than ninety stadia of it: and even the houses did not join each other. The remainder of the ground served as fields and gardens, sufficient to furnish provisions to the city in the event of a siege.—*Quint. Curt.* b. v. c. 1.

the parts of the city most remote from the Euphrates were watered during its splendour, and these might have been since used as canals; but the greater part of the mounds were certainly the remains of buildings originally disposed in streets, and crossing each other at right angles, with immense spaces of open and level ground on each side of them. The more distinct and prominent of these presented many proofs of their having been such; because the heaps, which were always double, or in parallel lines, were much higher and wider on each side than they could have been if formed only by the earth thrown up from the excavated hollow, each being wider than the intervening space between them, which varied from fifteen to thirty feet, and each exceeding twenty feet in height, while the level of the central space (which would have been the bed of the canal, had this been a channel for water) was itself higher than that of the surrounding soil, and the mounds were intersected by cross passages, in such a manner, as to place beyond a doubt the fact of their being rows of houses or streets fallen to decay.

There were also, in some places, two hol-

low channels, and three mounds, running parallel to each other for a considerable distance, the central mound being, in such cases, a broader and flatter mass than the other two, as if there had been two streets going parallel to each other, the central range of houses which divided them being twice the size of the others, from their being double residences, with a front and door of entrance to face each avenue. The same peculiarities of level, size, and direction, were observed here as in other parts of the ruins nearer the river; and all these could be easily reconciled to the supposition of being remains of streets and houses, but could not have belonged to canals; independently of their number and direction rendering it highly improbable that they were ever used as such.

The fact of these mounds being so much lower than the enormous heaps left by the remains of the palace and the hanging gardens, might occasion them to be regarded as comparatively insignificant, in relation to other Babylonian ruins; but though, for very evident reasons, the castle stood on an elevated site, and the gardens of Semiramis were exhibited aloft, "a monument," as Rennel ex-

presses it, "of the husband's folly, to all the surrounding country," there would be no reason to expect that any of the other edifices, and more especially the private dwellings of the people, should have their foundations at all above the common level of the soil.

This is, indeed, precisely the case: the mounds left by their crumbled ruins being, in many places, as high as those of Nineveh, and in others equal to those of Memphis, Bubastis, Tanis, and Sais in Egypt, all of them cities of nearly equal antiquity, and nearly contemporary in the dates of their destruction. If an excavation could be made, so as to cut through and obtain a fresh section of some of the principal of these mounds, it would at once decide the question satisfactorily; but we had not the means of doing this, or even of penetrating sufficiently deep beneath the indistinct mass, to ascertain the nature of its interior, the surface being, by the action of wind and rain through a long series of ages, such as to afford no clue to the judgment in this particular.*

* "Because of the wrath of the Lord, it shall not be inhabited, but it shall be wholly desolate; every one that goeth by Babylon shall be astonished, and hiss at all her

As long as we continued to find such remains of extensive mounds, detached squares, and circular patches covered with burnt brick and pottery, we continued to proceed onward, and about half-past ten reached a walled enclosure, within which were a number of date-trees. We turned in here, under the expectation of finding the place inhabited; but, from the state of ruin in which we found it, it must have been long since deserted, and its brick-lined well, from which the garden had no doubt originally been watered, was now perfectly dry.

The heat of the day had already become intense; only one of our water-bottles had any water remaining in it, and of this there was but a very small portion; for, on setting out, we had not calculated on coming half this

plagues. How is the hammer of the whole earth cut asunder and broken? How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations? Therefore the wild beasts of the desert, with the wild beasts of the islands, shall dwell there, and the owls shall dwell therein; and it shall be no more inhabited for ever; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighbour cities thereof, saith the Lord; so no man shall abide there, neither shall any son of man dwell therein."—*Jeremiah*, chap. 50, v. 13. 23. 39, 40.

distance to the eastward from the river. My companion, too, began to complain of suffering extremely from heat and thirst; but, although I felt for his condition, and would willingly have relieved it, yet I could not give up the idea of following the traces of the ruins in this untraversed quarter, as long as any vestiges of former buildings appeared, particularly as the extent of Babylon, in this direction, had been so long a matter of dispute; and we now possessed an opportunity of acquiring information on this point, which might never occur again.

I accordingly proceeded, going still eastward, passing many detached spots covered with burnt bricks and pottery, and seeing some few mounds on either side of our way, till about eleven o'clock, we reached a small sheikh's tomb, with a few date-trees near it, standing in the middle of a dry and burning waste.

There were large mounds and a high pyramidal hill in sight beyond this, which still tempted me to go on. My companion, however, being now quite exhausted with the heat, determined to alight here and go no further; more particularly as we had origi-

nally come out on this excursion in search of a mound, called Al Hheimar, which is said to be only five miles to the east of Hillah, and which, though we were now more than ten miles from that town, in the direction named, we had not yet discovered. I accordingly left Mr. Bellino and the Koord horseman at the tomb, to repose in the shade, and pushed on alone, being soon after followed, however, by the horseman whom Mr. Rich had sent with us, and who was unwilling, probably, to have it thought that he could not brave the heat and thirst of the way as well as a stranger.

We still went eastward, passing in the way, as before, several detached heaps covered with burnt brick and fine pottery, and crossing two or three large and wide ranges of double mounds, going north and south, which, from their appearance, might either have been canals or streets; but, from the line of their direction, most probably the latter; or, if the former, the remains of such ancient channels as were used to water this remote part of Babylon.

Beyond the last of these double mounds, scattered fragments of burnt brick began to be more abundant than we had before seen

them, and marked the former existence of some great work all along this eastern extremity of the city: these continued to be seen, not in large heaps or connected masses, as is usually the case, but lying loosely on the ground, as if they were merely the refuse of better materials taken away from hence, until, in half-an-hour after quitting the tomb of the saint, we reached the foot of the hill Al Hheimar, which I had come thus far to examine.

We found this to be a high mound of loose rubbish, so steep at the base as not to be ascended on horseback; and extremely difficult to get up over even on foot. We went up on the western side, where the ascent was easiest; though there it was still steep, and on the eastern it was apparently much more so. The hill presented, at a short distance, the appearance of a pyramidal cone, the outline of which nearly formed an equilateral triangle, and its summit seemed to be crowned by a long and low piece of thick wall, rather like the battlements of a small fortress, than a tower. The rubbish below consisted of burnt brick, with scarcely a fragment of pottery; and this circumstance, added to its steep ascent on every

side, where all that it varied from a perpendicular seemed to have been caused by some originally slight slope in the building itself, and the fall of fragments from above, with the comparatively perfect and solid appearance of its summit, induced me, at first sight, to conclude that it was the remains of a solid and extensive wall, and formed no part of any open building.

The heat of the atmosphere was now intense; we were exposed to the most powerful influence of the sun in a parched and burning plain; the small quantity of water which remained in the leathern bottle, brought from the river, had been left with our companions at the sheikh's tomb; and we had a strong westerly wind, which, though the thermometer stood at 135° in the sun, instead of tempering that heat, augmented it by a suffocating and almost insufferable air, at once hot, dry, and noxious to the smell; and bringing with it, at every blast, clouds of dust and sand, which rendered it difficult to look around us without having the eyes, mouth, ears, and nostrils, filled with it. These obstacles, added to the fretful impatience of my companion, with an assurance that similar

feelings were entertained by those who awaited our return to the tomb, and who had yet a journey of four hours in the heat of the day before they could reach Hillah, all contributed to hasten our departure from hence, after a stay only of a few minutes, just to catch a hasty glance of what we had come so far to see. But though I did not make the same copious notes upon the spot, as I had done on every other part of the ruins of Babylon, I was enabled on the following day, at Hillah, in a quiet apartment of the khan at which we lodged, to reduce to writing what was then fresh in my recollection.

The base of the mound or hill of Al Hheimar, at this eastern extremity of our excursion through the ruins of Babylon, appeared to me to be from three to four hundred feet in circumference; its form was rather oval than circular, its greatest length being apparently from north to south, and its lesser from east to west, so that its breadth or thickness through, at the bottom, might have been from eighty to a hundred feet. Its height appeared to be equal to that of the lowest part of the Mujellibé, or from seventy to eighty feet, and nearly equal to the breadth of its

own base. On ascending to its summit, we found there a mass of solid wall, about thirty feet in length, by twelve or fifteen in thickness, yet evidently once of much greater dimensions each way, the work being, in its present state, broken and incomplete on every side. The height of the mass was also probably diminished from its original standard, but of this it was not so easy to judge; as, whatever number of layers of bricks might have been removed, a smooth surface remained where the cement was worn away by time, which is not the case with any dilapidation of the sides or facings of walls, though it necessarily would be with their summits.

Nothing was more evident, however, than that this was a solid mass of wall, and no part of it a chambered or inhabited edifice; its appearance indicated that it had been built on an inclined slope from the westward or interior face, at least, that being the side on which our ascent was made: its dimensions being from eighty to a hundred feet thick at the base, twelve to fifteen feet thick at the top, and seventy to eighty feet in perpendicular height. The bricks were of the usual square form and size, of a reddish-yellow co-

lour, with slight appearances of chopped straw having been used in their composition, but not very decidedly marked: they had not, in any instance that I could perceive, inscriptions, figures, or writing on their surface. The cement used to connect the layers was extremely thin, and of the same colour with the bricks themselves; but not of the extraordinary tenacity of that at the Kassr, nor was the masonry so neat and highly finished, being perhaps of an earlier date.

The greatest peculiarity observed at this pile, and one which, hitherto at least, is unique in the known ruins of Babylon, was, that at intervening spaces rather wider than those of the reeds at Akkerkoof, and recurring at every fifteenth or twentieth course of bricks, appeared a layer of an extremely white substance, which was seen in small filaments on the bricks, like the crossing of fine pieces of straw; or, as it struck me forcibly on the spot, like the texture of the Egyptian papyrus. Between two of the bricks that I separated, with much ease, from the pile, the layer of this substance seemed about a quarter of an inch thick; the filaments were clearly discernible, and when fresh, the whole substance

was of a snowy whiteness, and had a shining appearance, like the finest mineral salts, or like the fibres of the glass feathers made in England. On merely touching it lightly with the finger, it came off in a white powder on the flesh, like the substance left on the fingers after touching a butterfly's wing; and on attempting, with a knife, to take off the layer itself, as a whole, it fell to pieces like the white ashes of a thoroughly-burnt piece of wood, and, from the extreme lightness of the particles, was instantly dispersed in the air. I never remember to have seen any powder so fine as this, nor ever to have observed a substance apparently so solid, as it lay between the bricks, which dissipated so suddenly, at the slightest touch.*

In the extensive viewafforded us from hence, we could still perceive detached mounds, nearly in a line with the mass on which we stood, both to the north and south of this. To the west, the whole extent of Babylon, as far as the eye could reach, was spread out before us,

* A small quantity of this powder, which was taken from the spot, has been preserved ever since, and is now in the possession of a lady in England, to whose Museum of Curiosities it was but recently presented.

intersected by streets and canals, and studded with isolated masses, the remains no doubt of detached piles of dwellings; while the level spaces, unmarked by any such vestiges, and evidently used only for cultivation, seemed to exceed the occupied part by an immense proportion of difference, perhaps of ten to one.*

* "Diodorus Siculus† describes the buildings as ruined or decayed in his time, and asserts, that now only a small part of the city is inhabited, the greatest part within the walls is tilled. Strabo,‡ who wrote not long after Diodorus, saith, that part of the city the Persians demolished, and

† των δε βασιλειων και των αλλων κατασκευασματων ὁ χρονος τα μεν ὁλοσχερως ηφανισε, τα δ' ελημηνατο. και γαρ αυτες της Βαβυλωνος νυν βραχυ τι μερος οικειται, το δε πλειστον εντος τειχος γεωργειται. Regiasque et alias structuras partim tempus omnino abolevit, partim corrupit. Nam et ipsius Babylonis exigua quædam portio nunc habitatur, maximaque intra muros pars agrorum cultui est exposita. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 70. Edit. Steph. p. 98. Edit. Rhod.

‡ ——και κατηριψαν της πολεως, τα μεν οἱ Περσαι, τα δ' ὁ χρονος και ἡ των Μακεδονων ολιγωρια περι τα τοιαυτα· και μαλιστα επειδη την Σελευκειαν επι τω Τιγρητι πλησιον της Βαβυλωνος εν τριακοσιοις που σταδιοις ετειχισε Σελευκος ὁ Νικατωρ. Και γαρ εκεινος και οι μετ' αυτον ἁπαντης περι ταυτην εσπουδασαν την πολιν και το βασιλειον ενταυθα μετηνεγκαν· και δη και νυν ἡ μεν γεγονε Βαβυλωνος μειζων. ἡ δ' ερημος ἡ πολλη· ὡστ' επ αυτης μη αν οκνησαι τινα ειπειν ὁπηρ εφη τις των κωμικων επι των Μεγαλοπολιτων των εν Αρκαδια.

Ερημια μεγαλη εστιν ἡ Μεγαλοπολις,——et urbis partem Persæ diruerunt, partem tempus consumpsit et Macedonum negligentia: præsertim postquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit stadiis tantum CCC a Babylone dissitam. Nam et ille et posteri omnes huic urbi maximoperè studuerunt, et regiam eo transtulerunt, et nunc Babylone hæc major est, illa magna ex parte deserta, ut intrepide de ea usurpari possit, quod de Megalopoli Arcadiæ magna urbe quidam dixit Co-

The mound of the Mujellibé, or royal palace, was high in sight from hence, and we found its bearing by compass to be west by north half

part time and the neglect of the Macedonians, and especially after Seleucus Nicator had built Seleucia on the Tigris, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and he and his successors removed their court thither: and now (saith he) Seleucia is greater than Babylon, and Babylon is much deserted, so that one may apply to this what the comic poet said of Megalopolis in Arcadia, 'The great city is now become a great desert.' Pliny, in like manner,* affirms, that it was reduced to solitude, being exhausted by the neighbourhood of Seleucia, built for the purpose by Seleucus Nicator. As Strabo compared Babylon to Megalopolis, so †Pausanias (who flourished about the middle of the second century after Christ) compares Megalopolis to Babylon, and says, in his Arcadics, that of Babylon, the greatest city that the sun ever saw, there is nothing now remaining but the walls. Maximus Tyrius ‡ mentions it as lying neglected and forsaken; and §Lucian intimates, that

micus: Est magna solitudo nunc Megalopolis. Strabo. lib. xvi. p. 738. Edit. Paris, p. 1073. Amstel. 1707.

* Cetero ad solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ a Nicatore. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 30. Edit Harduin.

† Βαβυλωνος δε ταυτης ἡν τινα ειδε πολεων των τοτε μεγιστην ἡλιος, ουδεν ετι ην ει με τειχος. Babylon omnium, quas unquam sol aspexit urbium maxima, jam nihil præter muros reliqui habet. Pausan. lib. iii. cap. 33.

‡ Βαβυλωνος κειμενης. Max. Tyr. Dissert. 6. prope finem.

§ Ου μετα πολυ και αυτη ζητηθησομενη, ωσπερ ἡ Νινος. haud ita multo post desideranda et ipsa, quemadmodum nunc Ninus. Lucian. Επισκ. sive Contemplantes prope finem.

north, its apparent distance from ten to twelve miles, and its computed distance by time two hours and three quarters' ride, at a common walking-pace of our horses, who were fresh and light. The ruined khan, or the mud en-

in a little time it would be sought for and not be found, like Nineveh. Constantine the Great, in an oration preserved by Eusebius, saith, that he himself was upon the spot, and an eye-witness of the desolate and miserable condition of the city. In Jerome's time, (who lived in the fourth century after Christ,) it was converted into a chase to keep wild beasts within the compass of its walls, for the hunting of the later kings of Persia. We have learned,* saith he, from a certain Elamite brother, who, coming out of those parts, now liveth as a monk at Jerusalem, that the royal huntings are in Babylon, and wild beasts of every kind are confined within the circuit of its walls. And a little afterwards he saith,† that excepting the brick walls, which after many years are repaired for the enclosing of wild beasts, all the space within is desolation. These walls might probably be demolished by the Saracens, who subverted this empire of the Persians, or they might be ruined or destroyed by time."—*Newton on the Prophecies*, pp. 172—174.

* Didicimus a quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Hierosolymis vitam exigit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone; et omnis generis bestias murorum ejus tamen ambitu coerceri. Hieron. Comment. in Isai. cap. xiii. p. 111. vol. iii. Edict. Benedict.

† ——exceptis enim muris coctilibus qui propter bestias concludendas post annos plurimos instaurantur, omne in medio spatium solitudo est. Id. in cap. xiv. p. 115.

closure which we had passed on the way, bore from us, at the same time, west by north, distant about three miles, and the Sheikh's tomb, in which I had left my companion, Mr. Bellino, and the servant, bore due west, distant about a mile and a half.

To the eastward of us, all was one bare Desert of yellow sand, occasionally blown into waves by the wind, and every where apparently of a loose and moving kind, though differing in its degrees of depth on the soil. We saw, beyond us, no vestiges of ruins in any shape, while, in a line with the eminence on which we stood, and every where within it, the remains of buildings and works were continually apparent. To the east-south-east, at a distance of four or five miles, we noticed, on the yellow sands, two black masses, but whether they were the bodies of dead camels, the temporary hair-tents of wandering Bedouins, or any other objects magnified by the refraction, which is so strongly produced on the horizon of the Desert, we had no means of ascertaining. With the exception of these masses, all the eastern range of vision presented only one unbroken waste of sand, till its visible horizon ended in the illusive appearance of a lake and

trees, formed by the heat of a mid-day sun on a nitrous soil, giving to the parched Desert the semblance of water, and reflecting its scanty shrubs upon the view, like a line of extensive forests; but in no direction was either a natural hill, a mountain, or other interruption to the level line of the plain, to be seen.*

The ruins of Babylon may be said, therefore, to terminate at this spot, which marks the extreme eastern boundary of the city; and there is every reason to believe, that the elevated pile from which we obtained our extensive view, and which forms this line of demar-

* "O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures; thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetousness: and they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations; but thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord. And the land shall tremble and sorrow, for every purpose of the Lord shall be performed against Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant; and Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing, without an inhabitant: the sea is come up upon Babylon; she is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof: her cities are a desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby."—*Jeremiah*, chap. li. v. 13. 26. 29. 37. 42, 43.

cation, was itself a portion of its celebrated wall.

The extent of this city, while it excited the wonder and admiration of all the ancients who either described or visited it, has become a subject of such dispute with the moderns, that even the best informed and the most unprejudiced among them have thought it necessary to disregard the statements of the earliest historians, and reduce the area of the ancient city to a standard compatible with their own notions of the extent of its population, and the means of supplying them with food.

The great geographer, D'Anville, one of the first investigators of this interesting question, proceeds to his conclusion in a still shorter way, indeed, than even this; for, by reducing the stadium of antiquity to a standard of his own, he was enabled to admit the full number of stadia given by the ancients to the circumference of its walls, without suffering the area of Babylon to exceed that of Paris in a greater proportion than five to two: allowing its circuit to have been, by this mode of computation, thirty-six British miles, while that of London and its environs was, at the time of his writing, supposed to be about

fifteen and a half, and that of Paris not more than five and three quarters.

Major Rennel, however, who has followed this geographer with equal learning, judgment, and ability, says, that notwithstanding the acknowledged superiority of his great predecessor's judgment on the subject of itinerary measures, he cannot subscribe to his opinion in this matter regarding Babylon; because, it does not appear, upon a reference to the ancients, that any stadium of the standard formed by him, in his computation of its area, was ever in use among them, or even known. The English antiquarian and geographer has pursued the same train of inquiry, with better arguments and greater success; but still, from the imperfection of the materials with which he was furnished to guide him in his reasonings, his conclusions can only be considered as a greater approximation to truth; for it will be found, after a recapitulation of the facts to be adduced in favour of giving to Babylon the full extent assigned to it by its earliest historian, that Major Rennel's assumed area of seventy-two square miles will fall as short of the truth as D'Anville's circuit of thirty-six square miles was within that of

the lowest standard which could be fairly assumed, on a comparison of the different authorities, for the real extent of this enormous city.

The arguments of Major Rennel, regarding the proportion of space that might have been occupied within the walls, and the amount of population which the resources of the surrounding country might support, are so complete, as to leave nothing to be added to them; but, if it could have been satisfactorily proved to that writer, that vestiges of ruins exist, which prove the size of Babylon to have been as extensive as Herodotus had described it, he would most probably have then admitted such evidence, and endeavoured to reconcile all difficulties, by still confining the number of its inhabitants to a moderate amount, and supposing the proportion of ground built on to be so much the less in comparison with the whole extent.

Before entering more deeply into this disputed question, it may be well, however, to examine how far the features of the ruined pile, called Al Hheimar, correspond with those of the city-wall, a portion of which it is assumed to be.

Herodotus, in speaking of Babylon, says, "The Assyrians are masters of many capital towns, but their place of greatest strength and fame is Babylon, which, after the destruction of Nineveh, was the royal residence. It is situated on a large plain, and is a perfect square—each side, by every approach, is in length one hundred and twenty stadia; the space, therefore, occupied by the whole, is four hundred and eighty stadia, so extensive is the ground which Babylon occupies. Its internal beauty and magnificence exceed whatever has come within my knowledge. It is surrounded by a trench, very wide, deep, and full of water; the wall beyond this is two hundred royal cubits high, and fifty wide; the royal exceeds the common cubit by three digits. The earth of the trench was first of all laid in heaps, and when a sufficient quantity was obtained, made into square bricks, and baked in a furnace. They used, as a cement, a composition of heated bitumen, which, mixed with the tops of reeds, was placed between every thirtieth course of bricks. Having thus lined the sides of the trench, they proceeded to build the wall in the same manner, on the summit of which,

and fronting each other, they erected small watch-towers, of one story, leaving a space betwixt them, through which a chariot and a pair of horses might pass and turn."*

The leading facts to be collected from this, independent of the extent of the city-walls, are, their height, their thickness, and the mode of their construction. The height of three hundred feet for a solid wall is certainly prodigious, but still credible when compared with the temples and pyramids of Egypt as we now see them, and with the other public structures of Babylon as they are described to us, or as we find their decayed remains. The original height of the walls of Babylon was considerably reduced, however, at a subsequent period; for, according to the same historian, "Darius Hystaspes, on the taking of Babylon by the stratagem of Zopyrus, levelled the walls and took away the gates, neither of which Cyrus had done before."†

The height given to the walls of Babylon, by Quintus Curtius, is one hundred cubits, or a hundred and fifty feet; and by Strabo, fifty cubits, or seventy-five feet only: though the difference between their statements, without

* Herodotus. Thalia. † Thalia. 159.

any admitted reduction of them between the periods of which they write, is not easily reconciled, unless it may be supposed that one of these writers estimated the height from the very *outer* base, including the ditch and all, and the other measured merely the wall, from its base to its summit *within;* the difference between these two modes of measurement being sufficient to account for the variation of their statements.

The breadth of the walls is given by Herodotus as fifty cubits or seventy-five feet, taken, probably, at the lowest base also; and, by Curtius and Strabo, at thirty-two; which, as the wall was built on an inclined slope, on one side of it at least, might have been given as the medium or average thickness throughout. But, taking it at its greatest, we have here a height of seventy-five feet as the standard of Strabo after its reduction, and a thickness of seventy-five feet for its base, and thirty-two for its mean breadth, or for its summit, after the reduction of its height, whichever might have been meant.

The pile of Al Hheimar, as we have already seen, presents an appearance of being from seventy to eighty feet high, from eighty to a

hundred feet thick at the base, the spread of which is considerably extended by the fallen rubbish, and from twelve to fifteen feet at the summit, where the thickness is considerably reduced by the bricks having fallen, and being broken away on each side. These dimensions (allowing for some error in an estimate taken in haste by the eye, as this of Al Hheimar necessarily was) correspond, therefore, with as much accuracy as can be expected at this remote period.

With regard to the manner in which these walls were constructed, we learn, from the historian, that the bricks were square and furnace-baked: nothing is said of the common cement employed between every layer, but it is stated that, at every thirtieth course, a composition of heated bitumen mixed with the tops of reeds was used. Although this is first said expressly of the ditch, it is added, that, when this was finished, they proceeded to construct the wall in the same manner.

It is easy to admit the possibility of an error in stating the number of the layers between each course of the bituminous cement; but the fact of there being *several* courses of bricks, at least from fifteen to twenty, between

the layers of the singular white substance used as a cement in this ruined pile, is a strong feature of resemblance. It is this substance which is undoubtedly "*the composition of heated bitumen mixed with the tops of reeds*," so particularly mentioned by the historian; and nothing but a "heated" medium could reduce the tops of reeds or straw to the state of apparent filaments, but actual powder, in which I found this cement when separating two of the bricks between which it had been placed, as already described in the account of the mound of Al Hheimar.

Among all the authorities cited, and the quotations made, to illustrate the mode of building in ancient Babylon, this of Herodotus is the only one present to my memory, in which such a composition as "heated bitumen" is mentioned. Whenever the substance is elsewhere spoken of, it is called simply "bitumen;" wherever reeds are described, they are said to be used in layers, in their pure form; and the coarser cements of lime or clay are also alluded to as used separately and alone.

The general state of the remains described in the mounds of the Mujellibé, the Kassr,

and the mound of Amran, are found to correspond strictly with these distinctions. In the first of these ruins, unburnt bricks have, between every course, a layer of whole reeds, or rather rushes, for some are very large, and all are perfectly fresh; having, apparently, undergone no change since the day of their being first placed there. Very little bitumen is seen, excepting in the fragments found scattered on the surface of the ruined heaps; and I concur entirely in the opinion of Mr. Rich, that its use as a cement could never have been so general as has been imagined: first, from the comparatively few portions of the ruins in which it is now found; and next, from the Babylonians having, in the lime and clay of their own soil, a more abundant, a cheaper, and more effectual cement than bitumen in any state could afford. It was, perhaps, the singularity of its use here, and its rarity in other countries as a material for building, that caused it to be noted at all; which would be the case now, in describing a new city, if any new cement, not common elsewhere, was used in its construction. In the Kassr, where the masonry is of the best kind, the cement is of lime, in very thin

layers; and in the Birs Nimrood, on the western side of the Euphrates, the same substance appears to be used, and is described by all who have seen it to be of an extraordinary degree of tenacity.

While it is insisted that the instance here quoted is the only one remembered, among all the ancient writers who are cited as authorities on Babylon, in which "heated bitumen" is mentioned, it must not be forgotten, that it is in the *ditch* and *walls* only that this is said to have been used at all. In such of the general masses of the ruined city as are already described, nothing like this mixture appears; nor should we expect, from any passage of the ancients, to find it in the ordinary buildings: while here, at Al Hheimar, in a portion of wall, the dimensions of which correspond with those given of the wall that encompassed the city, and found at the very eastern extremity of the ruins, in the precise situation in which such wall would be sought for, where it now forms the line of demarcation between the scattered heaps of ruins within the town and the bare Desert beyond them, a similar composition is found, in layers of wide intervals apart from each other;

a fact which must be regarded as almost conclusive as to their identity.

Dr. Hine, the physician to the Residency at Bagdad, and Capt. Lockett, of the Royal Army, who first visited this ruin, were particularly struck with the singularity of this cement, and both of them, as I had already learnt from the former gentleman, thought it to have contained originally small pieces of fine straw; though this does not appear to have suggested to them an idea of its being the composition described by Herodotus, nor consequently of the ruin being a portion of the city-wall. Mr. Rich, in his Memoir, speaking of Al Hheimar, says, "The base is a heap of rubbish, on the top of which is a mass of red brick-work, between each layer of which is a curious white substance which pulverizes with the least touch." He adds, "I have not yet visited Al Hheimar: but those who have examined it, have conjectured, from the grain of the white substance or powder seemingly lying in filaments, that it must have originally been layers of reeds."

It is remarked, by the same writer, that throughout the rest of the ruins, reeds are never found in buildings composed, as this is,

of burnt brick; and the city-wall is, indeed, the only part of the ancient works in which such materials are said to be used together, where the brick is distinctly stated to have been "baked in a furnace," and the composition of "heated bitumen, mixed with the tops of reeds," used as a cement. The appearance of these reeds are fresh and perfect, when examined on the spot, and have been unequivocal to all who have first seen them there; but the cement cannot, without great difficulty, be brought away undisturbed, as the least touch reduces the whole mass to powder. While the reeds at Akkerkoof and the Mujellibé are long, thick, and of a large size, being the produce of the neighbouring marshes, these at Al Hheimar appear to be short, thin, and of the smallest size, just indeed as "the *tops* of reeds" would be, and from the distinct way in which they are characterized, these *tops* were no doubt cut off, and their smallest and finest parts only mixed with the composition mentioned.

Of what precise nature this composition was, it would be useless to hazard a conjecture, before analysing the substance itself. We have this prominent fact, however, that

it was "a composition of *heated* bitumen," which was "mixed with the tops of reeds." The order, in which these separate materials are mentioned, would seem to imply that the tops of reeds was the principal, and the heated composition the subordinate, part, as this last is said merely to have been *mixed* with the former. This might account for the substance bearing no closer resemblance to common bitumen than it now does, and would also make it more easy to comprehend, how a *heated* composition of it, mixed with the reeds, perhaps chiefly to form them into a sort of paste for use, without destroying the form of the filaments, might, united with pressure and the effects of time through a long series of ages, become reduced to its present state of a white substance, appearing in filaments, like fine pieces of straw, yet pulverizing at the least touch, as the white ashes of any highly-burnt grass would do, if pressed ever so firmly between solid substances.

In anticipating the objections which might be made to the conclusion, that this mass of Al Hheimar was a part of the ancient city-wall, notwithstanding the striking coinci-

dences in form, dimensions, situation, and mode of construction already enumerated, the absence of the ditch, as far as our examination goes, may be first considered. As the earth, which was taken out from it, when it was first excavated, is positively stated to have been consumed, for making the bricks of which its lining and the wall were built, no mound of rubbish could have been accumulated by it, and therefore no traces of such mound could be now expected to be found.

The ditch itself would however become liable, from the first moment of the walls being neglected, to be gradually filled up. At the period of the walls being reduced, by Darius Hystaspes, from their original height, the ditch would offer itself as the nearest, the most capacious, and in every sense the most effectual receptacle for the portion of them that had been levelled; and nothing is more probable, than that it became so. Every subsequent dilapidation of the remaining portion would add to the mass below; and, as it stood immediately on the edge of a sandy Desert, every storm from that quarter would help to complete its filling-up, as such winds

have continually done to the half-buried monuments of Egypt, when near the outer line of the cultivated land.

The disappearance of every trace of the ancient ditch can scarcely be regarded therefore as a powerful objection; when almost every trace of the wall itself is gone. After a lapse of so many ages, as have passed away even since Babylon has been deserted and in ruins, it is rather to be wondered at, that so many vestiges of its former greatness can be traced, than that any fragment of its walls should have hitherto eluded the most diligent search. In all the operations against the city by hostile forces, this would be the part most likely to suffer the destroying vengeance of the enemy; and when, from the general decline of wealth, population, and importance of the city, it ceased to become an object of public care to keep these walls in repair, their gradual dilapidation, by the mere effects of time, would be likely to be hastened by the depredations of the very inhabitants who still remained within their enclosure.

From the great scarcity of fuel, and its consequent dearth, as well as from the appearance of many of the mounds of ruins which

exist, there is reason to believe, that the great mass of the common dwellings were built of unburnt bricks, which, except in such enormous piles as the palace and the hanging gardens, would be always more liable to decay than the burnt kind, independently of their being of inferior cost in the formation.

On such dwellings falling into ruins, or on the occasion of any of the people wishing, from other motives, to erect new ones, the ruined walls would be, as Major Rennel says of a deserted city, "a quarry above ground, in which the materials are shaped to every one's hands;" and as long as any buildings continued to be erected within the area of Babylon, after its original walls were found to be too extensive to be kept in repair, there can be little doubt but that such a quarry would be resorted to. The ease with which the burnt bricks could here be separated, would be one powerful reason for preferring such a storehouse to any other; as, whether this mound of Al Hheimar, where the bricks are more easily taken away whole than at any other place, be admitted to be part of the wall or not, bitumen and reeds are the only component parts of its cement that are named

by the historian, and wherever these are found, the bricks are separated almost without an effort.

The prodigious extent of these walls would be another reason for their affording more convenient supplies than any separate edifice; since, by their circuit round the city, a portion of them was near to every quarter of it; and for the same reason that the great wall of China was more speedily built, because every district through which it passed constructed its own portion, so the walls of Babylon would be the more rapidly destroyed, and their materials consumed, because a part of them was open to the depredations of builders and repairers in every quarter of the city.

The same causes would continue to operate, after its being finally abandoned, when applied to other cities constructed out of its ruins; and when it is considered that the present city of Bagdad, the large town of Hillah, and probably those of Mesjid Ali and Mesjid Hussein, with innumerable khans and villages scattered around in every direction, have been almost wholly built out of these walls alone, the wonder at their total disappearance at this distant period will be perhaps lessened.

I have said "*these walls alone*," because the burnt bricks, (the only ones sought after,) which are found in the Mujellibé, the Kassr, and the Birs Nimrood, the only three great monuments in which there are any traces of their having been used, are so difficult, in the two last indeed so impossible, to be extracted whole, from the tenacity of the cement in which they are laid, that they could never have been resorted to, while any considerable portion of the walls existed to furnish an easier supply: even now, though some portions of the great mounds on the eastern bank of the river are occasionally dug into for bricks, they are not extracted without a comparatively great expense, and very few of them whole, in proportion to the great number of fragments that come up with them. The total absence of stone for building, and the scarcity of fuel to burn the new bricks that might still be made in the country, are perhaps the only reasons why the heaps of Babylon are any longer resorted to for materials, not easy to be had from any other quarter.

It is not improbable, but that the walls which are stated by Saint Jerome to have served, in his time, as an enclosure for a park,

and which, as being only on one side of the river, might then have been thought, without due consideration, to be the ancient walls of Babylon, were merely the boundary of enclosure to the hanging gardens and the palace, whose remaining semicircular *debris* is given in the mound (A) of Mr. Rich's plan. This, which comprises an area of two miles or more in length and breadth, would be at all times more fitted for a park than a square of fifteen miles on each face, the extent of the ancient city, according to the testimony of Herodotus; besides which, it could hardly have happened, that after the final ruin of the town, in which the walls could not but have suffered, they should have remained, to the time of that writer, in so perfect a state as to serve the purpose he describes.

This wall of enclosure to the palace and the hanging gardens was originally of the same height with the reduced standard of the city-walls themselves; so that, from the summit of the gardens, the queen could overlook them. The distance of these gardens from the *city*-walls would render any view over them useless, and even if nearer, a bare Desert would be an uninteresting prospect; and

if the gardens themselves were but fifty cubits high, and the walls the same, there would be an equality of level. It is probably meant, that the elevated parts of these hanging gardens commanded a view over their own walls; and that either these, or the level of the gardens themselves, were fifty cubits high; the command of such a prospect over the interior of the whole city on both sides, and across the river in the centre, was an object worth attaining.

Another reason why the enclosing wall of the palace and hanging gardens continued longer than those of the city itself, might be, that the latter, being intended merely as a security from intrusion, and not as a wall of military defence, was probably constructed of unburnt brick, more particularly as that is the kind found in the very exterior facing of the supposed castellated palace. This therefore being a material unsought after for building, and more easily made on the spot than transported from afar, a wall composed of it would be left undisturbed, until some sufficient motive urged its demolition, while the great outer wall of the city would be as constantly diminishing, for the reasons before enumerated.

The difference in the materials of which these boundaries were constructed, would account satisfactorily for the disappearance of every vestige of the one, while the other, though of later destruction, would leave a very considerable mound behind it. The burnt bricks, as soon as discovered, would be fit for use; and there is no authority for believing that any thing but such bricks, and their cement, was used in the city-wall; so that, as their separation was easy, the fragments occasioned by their disjointing, and the dust of the cement left behind, might easily be dispersed with the winds, and mingled with the Desert sands.* The unburnt bricks,

* "Berosus in Josephus† saith, that when Cyrus had taken Babylon, he ordered the outer walls to be pulled down, because the city appeared to him very factious and difficult to be taken. And Xenophon‡ informs us, that Cyrus obliged the Babylonians to deliver up all their arms upon pain of death, distributed their best houses among his officers, imposed a tribute upon them, appointed a strong garrison, and compelled the Babylonians to defray the

† Κυρος δε Βαβυλωνα καταλαβομενος, και συνταξας τα εξω της πολεως τειχη κατασκαψαι, δια το λιαν αυτῳ πραγματικην και δυσαλωτον φανηναι την πολιν.——Cyrus autem Babylone capta, constitutoque exteriora ejus munimenta diruere, quod civitatem videret ad res novas mobilem, urbem vero expugnatu difficilem. Contra Apion. lib. i. Sect. 22. p. 1344. Edit. Hudson.

‡ Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. vii. p. 114 et 117. Edit. Steph.

on the contrary, would constantly crumble in their fall; so that a wall of them, beginning to loosen at the top, would, by the falling down of the rubbish on each side, soon become a mound of apparently pure earth, strewed with fragments of such materials as might have been near, and be afterwards sprinkled over with scanty weeds growing out of the surface, which is the case with many of the mounds at Nineveh, at Memphis, and other Egyptian cities, and even at Babylon itself.

To return from this digression to a consideration of the arguments used against the enormous circuit of the walls. Their prodigious extent appears to have been doubted only from the disproportionate size which they bore to the enclosures of more modern cities: since London and Paris are cited in the comparison, and an estimate is made of Babylon being, by the highest standard, eight times as large as the former in the area of its walls; and, by the lowest standard, in the proportion of five to two larger than the latter.

charge, being desirous to keep them poor, as the best means of keeping them obedient."—*Newton on the Prophecies* pp. 168, 169.

When it is said, however, that Nineveh was "an exceeding great city of three days' journey in length," and that Jonah did not begin to preach its destruction "until he had entered into it one day's journey," its extent is not objected to, because it is on the authority of a Prophet.* This city is, indeed, said by Strabo to have been larger than Babylon;† and Diodorus describes it to be an oblong figure of ninety stadia in breadth, and one hundred and fifty stadia in length,‡ extending a front of nearly nineteen miles along the eastern bank of the Tigris, and a breadth of about eleven miles from the river to the mountains on one side only, which was, indeed, nearly as large as the largest dimensions assumed for Babylon.

"Taking the extent of Gour, the ancient capital of Bengal, at the most reasonable calculation," says Major Rennel, "it was not less than fifteen miles in length, extending along the old bank of the Ganges, and from two to three in breadth." The Ayeen Akbaree states, according to the same author, that the wall of Mahmoodabad, in Guzerat, was a square of seven cosses, which are equal to about thirteen

* Jonah, chap. iii. v. 3, 4. † p. 737. ‡ lib. ii. c. 11.

miles; and the distance between the most remote of the ruined edifices of the Egyptian Thebes, both of which are temples, and therefore not likely to have been situated in the very opposite extremities of the town, is upwards of nine miles, as a diameter only.

While the extent of such cities is admitted in some, and known by actual measurement in other, instances; there seems to be no sufficient reason for rejecting the testimony of Herodotus, when he gives to Babylon an extent of a square of fifteen miles on each side, taking his four hundred and eighty stadia at their highest standard of eight to a mile.

In reasoning on this point, by which, as Major Rennel says, the public belief has been led, the principal objection is resolved at last into the improbability of so vast a contiguous space having ever been built on. But, says the same writer, "that the wall might have been continued to the extent given, does not appear so improbable; for we cannot suppose that so many of the eminent writers could have been misled concerning this point. The Macedonians and others had viewed it, and both Strabo and Diodorus appear to have written from documents furnished by them,

and might also have conversed with persons who had seen Babylon, and they all speak of it as of a city whose circuit was of wonderful extent; therefore, we ought to be prepared for something very much out of the common way."

The writers who, after Herodotus and Pliny, give about the number of three hundred and sixty-five stadia for the extent, seem, from the reason assigned by Clitarchus and others, to have shaped this as a favourite number, from its corresponding to the days of the year, as is still done in estimating the number of windows in large cathedrals, the number of doors in the Palace of Alhambra in Spain, the minarets in some of the large Oriental cities, and the ruined towns in the deserted districts of the Haurān. It is true that in some cases, as Rennel has observed, the very act of connecting the number with that of the days contained in the year, seems to prove that it approached nearly to it. But in these countries, sufficient instances could be cited, to shew that this number is used indiscriminately to express an amount as frequently above as beneath the truth, and often, indeed, very far from it in either case. It would be under-

rating the general veracity of the authorities cited, however, to suppose that some slight regard was not had to an approximation at least of the reported and the real number.

When Pliny and Solinus give their statement at sixty Roman miles, which, at eight stadia to a mile, agrees with Herodotus, it is said that they merely *follow* him. But though Strabo, (whose number of three hundred and eighty-five is thought, by Rennel, to have been corrupted from three hundred and sixty-five,) Diodorus from Ctesias, Clitarchus who accompanied Alexander, and, lastly, Quintus Curtius, all hang round the number of the days in the year, with a tale affixed as a reason for that choice which itself would awake suspicion, it is nowhere suggested that this tale becoming current after the standard was first fixed by it, the others merely followed its authority, without correcting it by actual measurement. The remark of Mr. Rich on this subject includes all that need be said on the comparative value of these testimonies at such different periods of time. "Of all the ancient writers who have described Babylon," says, that gentleman, "Herodotus and Diodorus are the most detailed, and much weight ought

certainly to be placed on the accounts of the former of these historians, who was an eye-witness of what he himself relates, notwithstanding the exaggeration and credulity which may, in many instances, be laid to his charge, when he reports from the information of others. The accounts of late writers (he continues) are of comparatively small value; for though Strabo's general accuracy and personal experience render his description of great interest, as far as it goes, yet he could have seen Babylon only at a period when its public buildings had already become heaps of rubbish; and, consequently, must have depended upon more ancient authorities for particular accounts of most of them."

In short, the city, of which so extensive a traveller as Herodotus, who had seen all the great monuments of the age in which he lived, had said, "Its extent, its beauty, and its magnificence, surpass all that has come within my knowledge;" the city, which is characterized in a hundred places throughout the Scriptures, from the denunciations of judgment by the Prophets, to the dreamer of dreams in the Revelations, as emphatically and peculiarly "the *Great;*" the city, which is expressly called

" The Glory of Kingdoms, and the Beauty of the Chaldees' excellency," must be thought to have been at least *as* great as most of the large cities coeval with it in the East, whose enormous dominions are undisputed, admitting even that a considerable portion of its celebrity arose out of the conspicuous part which it bore in the wars and revolutions of the Eastern world.*

* In a Memoir on some points of Ancient Geography, and a Dissertation on the Ancient Stadium, by M. de la Nauze, the author says, " On objecte qu' Herodote donne à Bablyone quatre cents quatre vingts stades de circuit (Herodote, chap. i. p. 178,) ce qui seroit, ajoute-t-on, prodigieux et incroyable, si l'on ne reduisoit le stade à une courte mesure:—comme si Babylone avoit été une ville ordinaire; comme si Aristote n'assuroit pas que le titre de ville ne lui convenoit pas plus qu'il conviendroit au Peloponèsse, en cas qu'on l'entourat de murailles; comme si Diodore n'avertissoit pas que Babylone renfermait de terres labourables, et d'autres lieux inhabités; comme si l'enceinte de Nanquin à la Chine n'egaloit pas, à peu près, aujourd'hui, non compris même l'immensité des fauxbourgs, ce que les stades d'Herodote, pris pour des stades de dix au mille, donnent à l'enceinte de Babylone.—Quant à la hauteur et à la largeur de mur de la ville, qui faisoit alors toute la sureté d'un empire, en mettant l'ennemi dans l'impossibilité de le franchir; ces murs de Babylone auroient-ils été une des sept merveilles, s'ils n'eussent pas offert le spectacle le plus extraordinaire et le plus frappant? Ainsi les dimensions d'une telle ville, étant données comme étonnantes par

"It is a question," says Rennel, "which no one can positively answer, what proportion of the space within the walls of Babylon were occupied by buildings?" Nor would the appearance of the ruins, at this now distant period, justify any hasty conclusion thereon; first, because many of the heaps appearing as mounds formed by ruined buildings may have been caused in some other way; and next, because places not now having a vestige for building material apparent on them, may once have borne edifices which have totally disappeared; either of which data would give false results. If one were to judge from such present appearances of the ground, the conclusion, I think, would be, that not more than one-third of the space at the most had been built on, and that two-thirds thus remained open for cultivated land.

Quintus Curtius positively says, that the buildings were not contiguous to the walls, but that some considerable space was left all around, nor was the enclosed space entirely

ceux-là même qui en étoient les témoins oculaires, s'accordent beaucoup mieux avec un stade de soixante seize toises qu'avec un stade beaucoup plus court."—*Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, tome xxvi. p. 369.

occupied by buildings, nor more than eighty stadia of it; neither do the houses join, (continues he,) perhaps from motives of safety. The remainder of the space is cultivated, so that, in the event of a siege, the inhabitants might not be compelled to depend on supplies from without.*

Major Rennel was in doubt whether a square of eighty stadia, or eighty square stadia, was meant by the expression of Curtius, though he adopts the former as more conformable to the idea of the space requisite for the supposed population. This is between a third and a half of a square of four hundred and twenty stadia, assigned by Herodotus to the whole, and gives us some positive data of proportion; and when it is considered, that the inhabitants really did subsist, through a long siege, on the produce of their own lands within the walls, as affirmed by Herodotus; and that, when the city was taken by Cyrus at night, the inhabitants of the opposite quarter of it did not know the fact, until three hours after sun-rise on the following morning, as reported by Xenophon;†

* Book v. p. 4.

† "The § city was taken in the night of a great annual

§ Herod. lib. i. cap. 191. p. 79. Edit. Gale. Xenoph. Cyropæd, lib. vii. p. 113. Edit. Steph.

the proportion of open space may be thought by no means exaggerated, and consequently the extent of the circuit of the walls, however enormous it may appear when given at its highest standard, ought not to be considered as at all beyond the truth.

The conclusion then would be, as Mr. Rich suggests, that, great as the actual size of Babylon was, the number of its inhabitants bore no proportion to this, compared with the relative size and population of the capitals of our own times; and that its streets, which are said to have led from gate to gate across the area, through cultivated land, over which buildings were distributed in groups and

festival, while the inhabitants were dancing, drinking, and revelling; and as * Aristotle reports, it had been taken three days, before some part of the city perceived it; but ‡Herodotus's account is more modest and probable, that the extreme parts of the city were in the hands of the enemy, before they who dwelt in the middle of it knew any thing of their danger."—*Newton on the Prophecies*, p. 166.

* Arist. Polit. lib. iii. cap. 3. ἡς γε φασιν εαλωκνιας τριτην ἡμεραν ουκ αισθεσθαι τι μερος της πολεως. qua tertium jam diem capta, partem quandam urbis non sensisse dicunt. p. 341. vol. ii. Edit. Du Val.

† Herod. ibid. ὑπο δε μεγαθεος της πολιος, ὡς λεγεται ὑπο των ταυτῃ οικημενων, των περι τα εσχατα της πολιος ἑαλωκοτων, τους το μεσον οικεοντας των Βαβυλωνιωο, ου μανθανειν εαλωκοτας. Tantaque urbis erat magnitudo, tu (quemadmodum narrant accolæ) quum capti essent qui extremas urbis partes incolebant, ii qui mediam urbem incolerent id nescirent.

patches, would convey, to a modern, the idea of roads through an enclosed district, rather than the division and avenues of a regular city.

If the reasonings on these numerous facts and authorities be thought to have any weight in removing the few objections which might have been urged against the extent of the walls of Babylon, and the original standard of Herodotus be admitted, then this ruined wall at Al Hheimar, which is assumed to be a portion of the enclosure of the city, will be found to be in the exact place where such fragment, if any existed, might be expected to be found.

Had the city been a perfect square, facing the cardinal points, at right angles with the river, and had that river divided it exactly in the centre, the distance of Al Hheimar, from the mound of the Mujellibé or Makloobe, would then, indeed, be greater than half the extent assumed for its area ; as it is at least ten miles, and this on one side of the river only. But, as Rennel observes, we are not told, in positive terms, whether the four sides of Babylon fronted the four cardinal points of the heavens, or not. The only notice concerning

it is, where Diodorus says, " The Euphrates runs to the *south*, through the *midst* of Babylon," which may be meant only in a general sense. Some of the early fanciful plans of that city, where it is not only made to face the cardinal points, but the river is led through it in so straight a line as to divide it into two *equal* parts, may therefore be justly disregarded. Herodotus merely says, " The great river Euphrates divides Babylon in two parts, and the walls meet and form an angle with the river at each extremity of the town ;" without specifying either *equal* parts or *right* angles in either case.

Judging from the general course of the stream, which is now about north-east and south-west, and supposing the judicious arrangement of giving the principal streets an oblique direction to the sun, for the sake of greater shade, it is probable, that the form and direction of the city-walls were nearly those which Rennel has assumed for them, in the excellent map of the positions and environs of ancient Babylon, which accompanies his Memoir. If the stream then entered the city nearer to its north-west than its north-east angle, as there delineated, the distance of ten

miles on a course of west by north half north, between the wall at Al Hheimar, would not be greater than could be admitted within the square of fifteen miles, though both these objects are on the same side of the river; supposing the former of these to have been near the Cissian or Susian gate, in the south-east extremity of the town, and the latter to have been near the centre of the eastern division, with regard to its length, and close upon the river's bank, as it is both described and found to be.

Before we descended from the ruined wall, which had given rise to all this train of argument and speculation, we dug away some of the accumulated rubbish, to extract some fresh bricks with their white cement, in the hope that we might be able to carry with us a more perfect specimen as far as Bagdad, for the satisfaction of Mr. Rich, whose previous valuable labours, and constant interest in all that regarded the ruins of Babylon, gave him a claim to the gratitude of every one who might visit this interesting site, the ruins of which lay so many ages in darkness, and which he was the first to render at all intelligible.

It was about one o'clock when we remount-

ed our horses at the foot of Al Hheimar, to return to our companions, whom we had left in the Sheikh's tomb. The heat was now intense, at least five degrees above that shewn by the thermometer on our coming out, when it stood at 135° in the sun; but I was too impatient, to lose even a moment in the examination of it.

We had the sun now beating on our foreheads, and the wind blowing directly in our teeth, with a glare reflected from the yellow soil, that made the eyes ache to look upon it. My Koord guide, who was one of the bravest of men on all other occasions, was dismayed and terrified at this, for he talked of nothing but the Simoom wind, and its sudden and fatal effects. We muffled up our faces with the ends of the keffeeah and turban which we each wore, poised our lances across the saddle to admit of our stooping forward sufficiently to avoid the sun beating on our brows, and rode slowly on, without uttering a syllable; and even when a hotter and a stronger blast than usual of the north-west wind came upon us, we turned together to receive it on our backs, without exchanging a word, while our

horses sidled together for safety, as if partaking of our own sensations.

We reached the Sheikh's tomb in about half an hour, our clothes filled with sand; our nostrils, ears, and mouth with finer dust; our skin dried up to cracking; and both of us parched and fainting with thirst. Our companions, whom we had left behind, had neither of them slept, on account of the extreme heat, as they expressed it, though they were reposing under the shelter of a thick walled building. As there remained only about a pint of water in the dregs of the leathern bottle, and our companions declared that none had been drank by them in our absence, this small portion was in justice divided among us all. It served, indeed, but barely to wash out the dust from our mouths, without swallowing a drop, which having done, we mounted again, and set out together on our way to Hillah.

The nature of our situation having made us all equal, our guide and servant gave their opinions on the steps best to be taken, with as much freedom as ourselves. It was thus that both of them insisted on our having

taken a track too much to the southward, and pointed out a course, of about north-north-west, as leading direct to Hillah. The fact is, that as neither of them had ever been at this spot before, they recollected none of the few leading objects which were to be seen; and, therefore, had the most confused idea of the relative points of bearing. They seemed like ships adrift in a boundless ocean, without a compass to steer by; and, had they been alone, would probably neither have reached Hillah, nor even the banks of the Euphrates, for the night. Mr. Bellino was half inclined to follow their suggestions, and give the casting vote in the case; urging, that their local experience, and knowledge of the country generally, gave them a decided claim to be heard.

On this, as on a thousand similar occasions perseverance was the only virtue to oppose to wavering opinions. I had taken bearings of the great heaps near the river, previous to our quitting Al Hheimar; and having again looked at my compass, when those heaps were less distinctly visible from the plain, silently pursued a steady course. The two advisers of a more northern route actually drew off, so that

we gradually receded from each other; while Mr. Bellino, being at first undecided which to follow, kept a middle course: so that, in an hour after setting out, we were all as widely separated, as if we had belonged to different parties or tribes.

At length a point of union offered itself: after going over long mounds, lying in parallel ranges of two and three beside each other, and passing heaps of brick and pottery, such as was described on coming out, we discovered an enclosed spot of verdure, with date and other trees, to which we all, as if by common consent, hastened in search of water and shade. On reaching this garden, we found an old Dervish, who called himself the Imaum of a sanctuary here, sacred to Suliman ibn Daoud el Nebbé, or Solomon the son of David the Prophet. We alighted and threw ourselves along the ground, beneath the shade of some overspreading trees; and having satisfied our first want, by drinking immoderately of some brackish water, with which we filled our leathern bottle from an earthen jar, we all fell insensibly asleep, without even fastening our horses; these, being seemingly as much oppressed by the heat as ourselves,

crept under the branches of the trees to seek a cooler air, and, lying down on the grass, remained perfectly still, while we lay on and near them, as if we were all members of the same weary family.

It was nearly five o'clock when we awoke, by which time the old Imaum, or Sheikh of the garden, had procured for us a melon, which we devoured greedily, with some dried and hard bread that still remained in our sack. This done, we set out again on our way, and, about an hour before sun-set, came into the great public road from Bagdad to Hillah, a mile or two to the south of the ruined heaps of Babylon, by which we had latterly directed our course.

Our approach to the bank of the Euphrates was through a broad road, lined on each side by a high wall of mud, built, like those of the gardens of Damascus, of large masses of earth, of an oblong form, placed on their edges instead of their flat parts, and enclosing thick and extensive forests of tall and full-leaved date-trees, now laden with clusters of fruit.

At sun-set we entered the eastern division of Hillah, or that part of it which lies on the eastern side of the Euphrates. It appeared

to consist chiefly of one good street, leading directly to the river, and used as a bazār, with a number of smaller ones branching off from it on each side. It is closed at its western end by a large door, through which we now passed, and came immediately on the bridge of boats, which here forms the passage of communication across the river. The boats composing this bridge, as well as the road formed over them, are both inferior to those of the bridge across the Tigris at Bagdad, and render it dangerous to pass on horseback among a crowd.

We happened to be here at an hour when this bridge was particularly thronged, and as every person's attention was arrested by the sight of Mr. Bellino in an European dress, the crowd pressed closer and closer together, by the successive halting of the curious to stare with open mouths of inquiry on the stranger. Our Koord guide, who forced his way before us, rode a very fiery horse, which every now and then reared back on his heels, and made the boat over which he happened to be, roll from side to side, which, giving a corresponding motion to the planks of the bridge, never failed to be followed by a shriek from that

part of the crowd who were near. My companion, who rode next in order, necessarily partook of the general alarm; and being naturally impatient, gave vent to the feelings of the moment, in language, which, though no one understood, every one interpreted to be expressive of anger; while I, who rode behind, in quality of his attendant or escort, had enough to do to keep off with my lance the train of insolent boys, who had gathered round to cry out "Frinjee! Gaiour! Kafr!" (Frank! Unbeliever! Infidel!) and purposely to jump on the elastic planks of the bridge, in order to increase the general confusion and alarm.

It was in the midst of this scene of mirth to some, of fear to others, and of vexation and annoyance to myself, that two Bedouins passing by, halted to address me, calling out very gravely, "Ya Arab, ibn Arab," (You Arab, the son of an Arab,) as a man of pure descent among the Israelites was usually called "a Hebrew of the Hebrews." I thought their inquiry frivolous, when they asked me if the horseman before the stranger whom I escorted was a Koord. I replied in the affirmative, as the shortest answer I could give, and which I

thought would prevent any farther questions. But I was mistaken. They first asked what business I could have to be travelling with a Koord; and, before I could answer, abused me for associating with a people whom the Arabs of these parts seem to hate most cordially. This was neither a moment nor a place for explanation, so that I left them undisturbed in their impression of my being an Arab, who had not a proper regard to the honour of his race; for though the being an escort to a Frank and a Christian seemed by no means objectionable to them, yet partaking that office with a Koord was talked of as if it were an indelible stain upon the Arab character.

"El humd ul Illah!"—"Praise be to God!"—was heard from twenty tongues at once, as we made our last step from the bridge, upon a firmer footing, and "Mash Allah!" and "Sult Salāmee!" (cries of wonder and self-congratulation on arriving at the other side of the stream in safety,) followed, as if we had escaped from the horrors of a storm at sea, rather than from the dangers of a floating bridge in a calm and not a rapid river.

As well as the confusion of our passage across it would admit, I observed the length

of the bridge to measure a hundred and ninety-five horse-paces, which would not be far short of the stadium assigned by Strabo to the breadth of the Euphrates at Babylon, particularly as the bridge is in the narrowest part. Mr. Niebuhr makes the stream here four hundred Danish feet; Mr. Rich, by a graduated line, seventy-five fathoms, or four hundred and fifty English feet; and its average breadth, through the site of the whole ruins, may be taken as from four hundred and fifty to five hundred and fifty, the greatest breadth being thus one-fifth less than the stadium assigned. This is narrower than the Tigris at the bridge of Bagdad, by ninety-two horse-paces, or nearly one-third, according to my measurement of it in going across. Its depth here was found by Mr. Rich, in the month of May, to be two and a half fathoms, erroneously printed "twenty-one fathoms" in the Memoir in "Les Mines de l'Orient." Notwithstanding, however, that the stream is thus narrow, its current appeared to run at a rate of less than two miles per hour; while the Tigris at Bagdad, at the moment of our crossing it, ran certainly at the full rate of three, and

sometimes rushes at the rate of six or seven miles an hour.

We forced our way with considerable difficulty through the crowds collected at the door by which the western quarter of Hillah is guarded, like its eastern one, towards the bridge; and getting soon afterwards to the khan, the discharge of artillery from the governor's residence in the town announced the appearance of the moon of Ramazān. As all without seemed noise and bustle and riotous exultation, we confined ourselves within the caravanserai, sufficiently happy, after our fatiguing and burning excursion, to find a place of shelter, refreshment, and repose.

CHAPTER XI.

TOWER OF BABEL AND PLAIN OF SHINAR,

NEAR THE BANKS OF THE EUPHRATES.

CHAPTER XI.

VISIT TO THE TOWER OF BABEL AND TEMPLE OF BELUS, OR THE BIRS NIMROOD.

July 27th.—Our first duty was to send the letters, with which Mr. Rich had kindly furnished us, to the governor of Hillah, and to a powerful Arab of the same town, named Esau Bek. The former was inaccessible, being with his Harem; but the latter had no sooner received our letter, than he sent to announce his intention of visiting us.

It was about noon when he arrived at the caravanserai, accompanied by a younger brother, and a large train of servants. During the interview, after he had assured us that he was the slave of our wishes, and that the execution of our orders and the safety of our persons were on his head, both for the high respect he bore towards our nation, and his

personal esteem for its able representative at Bagdad, we repeated to him what had been already stated in the letter, that the object of our coming thus far was to visit the ruin called the Birs Nimrood, in the western Desert, and we fixed on an early hour on the following morning for commencing our journey: he then quitted us, with a promise that all should be ready for our setting out at the hour and in the manner we desired.

In the course of the day, we had received information of a riot having taken place before the house of the governor on the preceding evening, in which one man was killed and two wounded. This circumstance, added to the notoriously bad character of the people of Hillah, who murder their governors and assassinate each other with impunity, with the insolence and contempt which they manifested towards my European companion as we entered the town, induced us to remain quietly within the khan for the remainder of the day.

July 28th—We were on horseback before daylight, and repaired to the house of Esau Bek, to receive our escort for the visit to the temple of Belus, or Birs Nimrood. We were

here joined by the younger brother of this chief, and six horsemen, all well mounted and armed, under whose protection we left the town.

The dawn had just began to break as we went out of the miserable mud-walls which encompass Hillah on the west. These are built on an inclined slope, turretted along the top, and barely serve the purpose of a check against the intrusion of the Desert Arabs. Within these walls is a large and high mound of rubbish, the surface of which is covered with fragments of broken pottery, burnt bricks, and other remains of antiquity, which I at first conceived to be the ruin of some large mass of Babylonian building; but on a closer inspection, it appeared to have been gradually accumulated from the rejected materials of which the town itself is built, and which were apparently all brought from the ruins of Babylon.

We went out from the town in nearly a westerly direction, keeping close to the southern edge of long and high mounds, which appear to have formed the banks of the canal leading from the Euphrates into this western plain. In less than an hour we left this, and

going off more southerly, directed our course straight towards the ruined monument of which we had come in search, and whose towering height began to shew itself from the moment of the day-light being broadly opened. Its appearance, as we approached it, was that of a fallen and decayed pyramid, with the portion of a tower remaining on its summit; and every step that we drew nearer to it, impressed us more and more with a conviction, that this was by far the most conspicuous of all the monuments of Babylon, of which any remains are now to be traced, and gradually strengthened the opinion that it was the celebrated Tower or Temple of Jupiter Belus, which had been sought for, and as the explorers considered even recognised, among the ruined heaps on the other side of the Euphrates.

We had no sooner reached the spot, than we ascended hastily on its western side, over a very steep hill, formed of the broken fragments accumulated round its base, and all evidently fallen from the top. When we had gained its summit, and recovered breath by resting for a few minutes among the rock-like masses of the ruin there, our first duty was

to note the bearings of surrounding objects, for the purpose of fixing more accurately the relative position of this monument;* since, from the loose description of Père Emanuel, it had been admitted, by Rennel, to be within the site of Babylon, and from the hasty account of Niebuhr, it had been thrown without that site, for at least two or three miles beyond the walls, though both of these travellers described the same identical ruin.

The direction of Kerbela, or Mesjid Hussein, was pointed out to us in a north-west direction, and of Mesjid Ali in a southern one; but though the morning was beautifully clear, and the hour favourable for seeing to a great distance, neither the one nor the other were at this moment visible. It was called a day's journey from hence to each, without any one being able to specify the number

* Bearings, taken by compass from the summit of the Birs Nimrood:—Mound of Mujellibé, or Makloube, N. E. by N. 10 miles.—Mesjid el Shems, at Hellah, N. E. by E. 5 miles.—Kiff el Yahooda, the Tomb of Ezekiel, S. 7 miles.—Khan Dubbey, S. W. by S. 8 miles.—Khan Ghaneiza, W. by S. ½ S. 3 miles.—First Lake, or Marsh, S. W. to W. S. W. 2 miles.—Second Lake, or Marsh, from W. 2½ miles, to N. N. W. 8 miles.—Third Lake, or Marsh, N. W. to N. E. by N. 2 to 3 miles.

of hours; and the khans mentioned in the bearings were said to be on the direct road from Mesjid Ali to Mesjid Hussein, a road so notoriously infested by the Desert Arabs to the westward of it, that not a year passed without a number of Persian pilgrims being stripped and plundered, whether in strong parties or alone.

I inquired particularly after the ruined site called Brousa, or Boursa, by the natives, and supposed to mark the place of the ancient Borasippa of Strabo, the Barsita of Ptolemy, and the Byrsia of Justin,* the place to which Alexander retired when he was warned by the Chaldeans not to enter Babylon by the east. Near as this place was to us, however, and commonly as it was thought to be known among the people of the country, there was but one of all our party who did not absolutely deny its existence, contending that Boursa, or Birs, were but different ways of

* Alexander, being influenced by the advice of the soothsayers not to enter this city, turned aside to Byrsia, a city heretofore unpeopled, on the other side of the Euphrates; but, being importuned by Anaxarchus, the philosopher, to despise the presages of magicians as false and uncertain, he afterwards returned to the city.—*Justin*, chap. xii.

pronouncing the same word, which was no other than the name of the place on which we stood. The Arab, who admitted the existence of this disputed spot, under the name given, pointed it out in a south-east direction, but said it was not visible from hence. He knew not the accurate distance from this spot, but supposed it to be four hours' brisk journey. This also he said was about its distance from Hillah, adding, that it was fully an hour's ride from the west of the bank of the Euphrates, and therefore could not be visited without a large escort, on account of the character of the Arabs who encamp near the spot.

The view from hence, in every direction, was most dreary: a few distant lines of date-groves was all that relieved the eastern waste, marking the course of the river through the plain; and to the westward all was one yellow Desert, seemingly as destitute of animal as of vegetable life. Between us and the edge of these sandy wilds was a line of marshes, lakes, and morasses—for at different periods of the year they deserved the name of either —so that the state of the country here at least had seemingly undergone very little al-

teration since the time of Babylon's foundation or decay.*

We could trace no vestige of a wall in this direction, either in the shape of mounds, or otherwise, throughout all the range of our view. It is true, that the situation of a wall near marshes and loose sands would be unfavourable to its remaining visible for any length of time after it had been once broken down; and it is not, perhaps, improbable, but that it might have been more neglected in this quarter than elsewhere from the first decline of Babylon, as the local features of the situation in its marshes, morasses, and loose sand,

* "It is somewhat remarkable, that one of Isaiah's prophecies concerning Babylonis entitled (xxi. 1.) 'The burden of the desert of the sea,' or rather, 'of the plain of the sea,' for Babylon was seated in a plain, and surrounded by water. The propriety of the expression consists in this, not only that any large collection of waters in the oriental style is called 'a sea,' but also that the places about Babylon, as †Abydenus informs us out of Megasthenes, are said from the beginning to have been overwhelmed with waters, and to have been called 'the sea.'"—*Newton on the Prophecies*, p. 161.

† λεγεται δε παντα μεν εξ αρχης ὑδωρ ειναι, θαλασσαν καλεομενην. Ferunt, inquit, loca hæc omnia jam inde ab initio aquis obruta fuisse, marisque nomine appellata. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 41, p. 457. Edit. Vigeri.

offered a permanent obstacle to invasion on that side.*

In reasoning on the positions of the great gates of the city, Major Rennel says, "It may indeed be concluded, that there were fewer gates and communications with the country on the west than elsewhere, for it is said, that Alexander wished to enter the city by the west after his return from India, in order to avoid the evil foretold by the soothsayers, but he was compelled to give up the attempt by reason of the marshes and morasses on that

* The Chaldean soothsayers entreated Alexander not to enter this city at all at that particular time of his being about to do so, which was on his return from Ecbatana, and upon his expedition against the Cosseans: and he ridiculed this advice by repeating a satirical line against divines, from the Greek poet Euripides. They then desired him at last not to enter it with his face westward, but to go round *on the other side* of the city, and enter it with his face towards the east. This he was resolved to comply with, but the difficulty of the road, *which was both watery and marshy*, forced him to change that resolution. He even made the attempt to bring his whole army round here, and enter the city at their head, from the west: for which purpose he crossed the Euphrates, and marched along its western bank to the northward, having that river on his right, but from the ground thereabout being *all an impassable morass*, he was obliged to abandon his design as impracticable.—*Arrian*, b. vii. c. 16, 17.

side."* We are told also by Diodorus Siculus,† that the number and depth of the morasses round about Babylon made a smaller number of towers in the nature of bastions necessary for the defence of the walls. Such is exactly the state of the country at the present moment, and the eastern limit of these marshes seem to occupy nearly the same place as anciently, or to press close upon what might be supposed to have been the western boundary of the Babylonian wall.

In turning from the surrounding objects to examine, for a moment, the more striking one on which we stood, we found it to be a steep pyramidal heap, rising to the height of two hundred feet above the level of the surrounding soil, and having the western side of a brick building on its summit, rising to the height of fifty feet more. The western face of the heap is the most destroyed, being worn down into a deep furrow in the loose rubbish, probably by the operation of the strong Desert winds from that quarter. The eastern and southern faces are in different degrees of greater perfection, and the southern is the most perfect of all. At the foot of the mound may be traced

* See Arrian, b. vii. † Book ii. chap. 1.

a step, scarcely elevated above the plain, exceeding in extent, by several feet, the true base of the building. Within this, the edifice commences rising in high and distinct stages, receding one within another, in a proportion of width about equal to their respective elevations.

The first, or lowermost of these, shews only some of its interior work, where a pit has been formed near the outer edge of the base, by the apparent clearing away of the rubbish there, perhaps in search after bricks. It is remarkable, that the bricks, though large and firmly made, are merely sun-dried, and cemented either by bitumen or mortar, but without reeds. The lower part of the structure was composed of sun-dried bricks within, and a facing of furnace-baked bricks without, corresponding with the upper parts of the building as they now exist, and with the appearance of all the vestiges around the base. This is exactly consistent with the first feature of the Tower of Belus, as noted by Major Rennel, where he says—"It may be concluded that the uppermost stories consisted more of masonry than of earth; but the lower chiefly of earth, which was retained in its place by a

vast wall of sun-dried bricks, the outer part or facing of which was composed of such as had undergone the operation of fire." Strabo says, "that the *sides* of the tower were of *burnt* bricks."

The second stage of this heap, which recedes within the first in about the proportion of the height of this from the base, shews the north-east angle of its exterior front most distinctly. This is faithfully delineated in the view of the eastern face of this monument, as drawn by Mr. Rich, and engraved to accompany his Memoir on Babylon; but from the drawings having been reduced by the editors of the "Mines de l'Orient," in which they were originally inserted, to so small a scale, the effect of this appearance is less striking.* It is nevertheless sufficiently visible, even on that scale, to be referred to as a corroboration of the assertion here made. The whole of this angle, as far as it can be traced, is of

* See the relative positions and present aspect of the principal Babylonian edifices spoken of in this Work, in the lithographic copies of the Plan and Views of Mr. Rich, taken, by permission, from the plate accompanying his original Memoir in "Les Mines de l'Orient," and inserted among the Illustrations of the present Volume.

burnt brick, though sun-dried bricks and loose earth may occupy the interior of the mass, as not more than a few feet in thickness are seen jutting out beyond the general surface of the rubbish.

Still above this, is a third stage, a fragment of which may be perceived in Mr. Rich's view of the western front of the heap; this recedes within the second, in the same proportion as the second within the first; and, like it, is apparently formed of furnace-baked bricks, for the exterior surface which now projects beyond the loose fragments of the general ruin.

Above them all, rises the fourth and last existing stage, which is delineated in the apparent tower that crowns the summit of the whole. The standing part of this upper stage is a solid wall of brick, about fifty feet in height, from the lowest part of its base visible on the east, thirty feet in breadth, and fifteen in thickness, though both these last dimensions seem to lessen gradually on approaching the summit. The upper edge of this wall is so broken and irregular, as to prove, beyond a doubt, that it did not terminate the pile; but that above this there were other stages, now destroyed. The wall of this ruin is now rent

by a large fissure, which extends through nearly half its height, and is, no doubt, the effect of some violent agent, rather than the gradual operation of time.

The summit of the pile, as it now stands, at an elevation of two hundred and fifty feet from its own base, covers apparently an area of nearly a hundred feet. The whole of this appears to have been occupied by a square building, forming the fourth stage of this great pyramidal tower; only one side of which now remains erect. This presents a wall of brick work, about fifty feet in extreme height, by thirty in breadth, and fifteen in thickness, pierced both longitudinally and transversely with small channels, running all through the building, as if to give a free passage to the air. It is the western side of the tower that remains standing, though occupying only a portion of its original breadth on that front, as both its side edges have been evidently broken away. On the north and south, the walls are broken down, and their materials dispersed, though the place of both can still be traced. But on the east, the fallen masses which composed the wall of that quarter still remain on the spot.

The bricks used in the masonry of this pile are furnace-baked, and of the ordinary kind, resembling those at Al Hheimar, more than the finer ones at the Kassr, and the whole is thus faithfully characterized by Mr. Rich. "The fine burnt bricks, of which the ruin at the summit of the Birs was built, have inscriptions on them, and so admirable is the cement, which appears to be lime-mortar, that though the layers are so close together, that it is difficult to discern what substance is between them, it is nearly impossible to extract one of the bricks whole. The other parts of the summit of this hill are occupied by immense fragments of brick-work, of no determinate figure, tumbled together, and converted into solid vitrified masses, as if they had undergone the action of the present fire, or been blown up with gunpowder, yet the layers of the bricks are perfectly discernible."*

The appearance of these masses, and the fissure in the portion of the wall which still remains erect, furnish reasons to believe that fire was used as an agent of destruction in this edifice,† to effect which almost every other

* Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient."

† "We learn farther, from a fragment of Diodorus

means would have been ineffectual, from the astonishing firmness of its masonry, which rendered the whole fabric in strength like one solid block. Had this been the original summit of the building, and the fire used here been that of sacrifice or adoration, as might be suggested by those who would infer, from the visible effects of this element, that the Birs Nimrood was an ancient fire-temple, the vitrified appearance would have been seen as well in the standing part of the wall, as in that which is fallen, and in both only on the

Siculus, which is produced by Valerius, and quoted from him by *Vitringa, that a king of Parthia, or one of his peers, surpassing all the famous tyrants in cruelty, omitted no sort of punishment, but sent many of the Babylonians, and for trifling causes, into slavery, and burnt the forum and some of the temples of Babylon, and demolished the best parts of the city. This happened about a hundred and thirty years before Christ."—*Newton on the Prophecies*, p. 172.

* Vitring. Com. in Iesaiam. cap. xiii. p. 421. vol. 1. Ευημερος ὁ των Παρθων βασιλευς κ. τ. λ. Evemerus, Parthorum rex (docuit Valesius clarissime quod eruditi viri lubenter admiserunt, legendum esse Himerum, Parthorum regis satrapam, ex circumstantiis temporis historiæ, et collatis locis Justini ac Athenæi) patria Hyrcanus, cunctos tyrannos acerbitate vincens, nullum sævitiæ genus prætermisit. Plurimos enim Babylonios levibus de caussis servituti addictos, cum omni familia in Mediam distrahendos misit. Forum quoque et nonnulla delubra Babylonis igni tradidit, ac pulcherrima quæque urbis loca evertit. Accidit casus stante regno Seleucidarum, annis admodum CXXX ante Æ. V. nati Domini.

interior surface of the enclosure, which the fire might be supposed to have occupied. Here, however, the fallen masses bear evident proof of the operation of fire having been continued on them, as well after they were broken down as before, since every part of their surface has been so equally exposed to it, that many of them have acquired a rounded form, and in none can the place of separation from its adjoining one be traced by any appearance of superior freshness, or any exemption from the influence of the destroying flame.*

It seems probable, therefore, that all other means of destruction having been found ineffectual, from the solidity of the brick-work of which the upper part was composed, the aid of fire was called in for that purpose; and this element, when well fed in a closed building, would produce nearly the effects which we see, namely, the splitting of one portion of the wall in a deep fissure; the breaking down of the other into large masses, still preserving its layers of brick distinct and inseparable from

* "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be *burnt with fire*."—*Jeremiah*, chap. li. v. 58.

the tenacity of their cement; the vitrification of such masses after they had thus fallen into the body of the fire, by its enveloping them all around as long as any heat continued; and lastly, the entire fall of some of the disjointed portions of the wall, thus violently separated from the rest. This would be the natural effect of the application of fire within any of the stages, even the uppermost, and if applied to any of the lower ones, would, in addition to the same effects, produce the undermining and overthrowing every part of the structure above.*

From the summit of this ruin, we could discover plainly the vestiges of a quadrangu-

* It would appear that Alexander himself had sacrificed to the god Belus, and most probably in this very temple; but what was the nature of the sacrifice is not mentioned. "On Alexander's marching from Arbela, after the defeat of Darius, straight to Babylon, the gates of that vast city were thrown open to him, and processions of the priests and chiefs of the people went out to meet him, offering him great gifts, and delivering the city, the tower, and the royal treasure, into his hands. Alexander, entering the city, commanded the Babylonians to rebuild the temples which Xerxes had destroyed, *and especially the temple of Belus*, whom the Babylonians worshipped as their chief god, and to whom he himself, by the advice of the Chaldean priests, offered sacrifice."— *Justin*, book iii. chap. 16.

lar enclosure round the whole pile, as noted also by Mr. Rich. It is most visible on the west and north, its angle of meeting bearing from us about west-north-west, and its general distance from the base of the great heap appearing to be about a hundred yards, or its whole square something more than three hundred yards on each side. In an eastern direction from this ruined pile, and separated from its foot by a clear space, from which it might be inferred that it never joined the pile itself, is a mound of ruins, equal in elevation to those assumed for the palace and the hanging gardens on the other side of the river; this is of an oblong form, extending about a quarter of a mile in length, and a furlong in breadth, of unequal surface, and strewed over with pottery, bricks, and coloured tiles, but having no actual remains of ancient buildings, the two sepulchres now erected on it being recent Mohammedan works.

As this pile of the Birs Nimrood is here assumed to be the remains of the celebrated Tower of Belus, the place of which has been long disputed; and as mature consideration, added to a close personal inspection of the monument, has only strengthened and con-

firmed the original impression of its identity, it may be well to enumerate such features of resemblance between the present ruin and the ancient temple, as are considered to justify the decision of their being one and the same edifice.

In recurring to the ancient descriptions of this celebrated monument, Major Rennel justly observes, that "all these are very brief, and Strabo is the only one who pretends to give the positive elevation of the tower, though all agree in stating it to be very great. The *square* of the temple, says Herodotus, was *two* stadia, (one thousand feet,) and the tower itself *one* stadium, in which Strabo agrees. The former adds, 'In the midst, a tower rises, of the solid depth and height of one stadium, upon which, resting as a base, seven other turrets are built in regular succession. The ascent is on the outside, which, winding from the ground, is continued to the highest tower, and, in the middle of the whole structure, there is a convenient resting-place.'* Strabo says, that the sepulchre of Belus was a *pyramid*, of one *stadium* in height, whose base was a square of like dimensions, and that it

* Clio. 181.

was ruined by Xerxes. Arrian agrees in this particular, and Diodorus adds, that on the top was a statue of Belus, forty feet in height, in an upright posture; from which Major Rennel has inferred, by an unobjectionable rule, that the tower must have been about five hundred feet in height, corresponding to the dimensions assigned by the others. Its destruction by Xerxes must have taken place before any of the writers, whose descriptions are cited, could have seen it, and that destruction must no doubt have been an unusually devastating one, since the Persian monarch is said to have forcibly stripped it of all its treasures, statues, and ornaments, and even to have put its priests to death. Both Strabo and Arrian indeed say, that Alexander wished to restore it; the former asserting that he found it too great a labour, for it was said that ten thousand men were not able to remove the rubbish, in the course of two months; and the latter stating that it had been begun, but that the workmen made less progress in it than Alexander expected.*

* "The temple of Belus is situated in the heart of that city, (Babylon,) a most magnificent and stupendous fabric, built with brick, and cemented together with a bituminous

Here then we collect the following leading facts; first, that the Tower of Belus was a pyramid, composed of eight separate stages successively rising above, and retiring within, each other; second, that its whole dimensions were a square of one stadium, or five hundred feet at its base, and its height exactly the same; third, that it had around it a square enclosure, of two stadia, or one thousand feet for each of its sides; and, fourthly, that attached to this was a temple, the relative position and dimensions of which are not specified, but the ruins of which were very considerable.

substance instead of mortar. This, with all the rest of the Babylonian temples, was subverted by Xerxes, at his return from his Grecian expedition; whereupon Alexander determined to repair it, or, as some say, rebuild it upon the old foundations; for which reason he had ordered the Babylonians to clear away the rubbish, for he designed to build it in a more august and stately manner than before. But, whereas they had made a much less progress in the work than he expected during his absence, he had some thoughts of employing his whole army about it. Much land had been consecrated and set apart by the Assyrian monarchs for the god Belus, and much gold had been offered to him; from these the temple was formerly rebuilt, and sacrifices to the god provided."—*Arrian's Hist. of Alex.* b. vii. c. 17.

To all these features, the remains of the monument called the Birs Nimrood perfectly correspond. The form of its ascent is pyramidal, and four of the eight stages of which its whole height was composed are to be distinctly traced, on the north and east sides, projecting through the general rubbish of its face. Its dimensions at the base, as accurately measured by Mr. Rich, give a circumference of seven hundred and sixty-two yards, or two thousand two hundred and eighty-six feet, exceeding the square of a stadium, or two thousand feet, by no more than might be expected from the accumulation of the rubbish around it on all sides. The height of the four existing stages is equal to about half that of the original building, or two hundred and fifty feet; which, as the eight stages are said to have risen above each other in regular succession, may be fairly supposed to represent the four lowermost of them. The square enclosure to be traced around the whole appears, from the summit of the building, to occupy a line of more than three hundred yards for each of its sides, which may be thought to correspond accurately enough with

the enclosure of two stadia, or one thousand feet, assigned by the historian.*

* In a Second Memoir on Babylon, published subsequently to my visit to its ruins, in answer to some remarks of Major Rennel, on Mr. Rich's First Memoir, and which I have only seen since my return to England, this gentleman, to whom I had freely communicated all the results of my researches there, thus alludes to this portion of them:— "The whole height of the Birs Nemroud, above the plain to the summit of the brick wall, is two hundred and thirty-five feet. The brick wall itself, which stands on the edge of the summit, and was undoubtedly the face of another stage, is thirty-seven feet high. In the side of the pile, a little below the summit, is very clearly to be seen part of another brick wall precisely resembling the fragment which crowns the summit, but which still encases and supports its part of the mound. This is clearly indicative of another stage of greater extent. The masonry is infinitely superior to any thing of the kind I have ever seen; and, leaving out of the question any conjecture relative to the original destination of this ruin, the impression made by a sight of it is, that it was a solid pile, composed in the interior of unburnt bricks, and perhaps earth or rubbish; that it was constructed in receding stages, and faced with fine burnt bricks, having inscriptions on them, laid in a very thin layer of lime cement; and that it was reduced by violence to its present ruinous condition. The upper stories have been forcibly broken down, and fire has been employed as an instrument of destruction, though it is not easy to say precisely how or why. The facing of fine bricks has partly been removed, and partly covered by the falling down of

The great mound to the eastward of the tower is such as must have been left by the destruction of some spacious but less elevated building attached to it, and is of sufficient magnitude for any temple; while the rubbish formed by the destruction of the whole, including both the tower and the temple which Alexander is said to have wished to restore, is greater than the whole solid contents of the Mujellibé, or Makloube, and would cer-

the mass which it supported and kept together. I speak with the greater confidence of the different stages of this pile, from my own observations having been recently confirmed and extended by an intelligent traveller, who is of opinion that the traces of four stages are clearly discernible. As I believe it is his intention to lay the account of his travels before the world, I am unwilling to forestall any of his observations; but I must not omit to notice a remarkable result arising out of them. The Tower of Belus was a stadium in height; therefore, if we suppose the eight towers, or stages, which composed the pyramid of Belus, to have been of equal height, according to Major Rennel's idea, which is preferable to that of the Count de Caylus,* we ought to find traces of four of them in the fragment which remains, whose elevation is two hundred and thirty-five feet; and this is precisely the number which Mr. Buckingham believes he has discovered. This result is the more worthy of attention, as it did not occur to Mr. B. himself." —*Rich's Second Memoir on Babylon*, p. 32.

* See Mem. de l'Academie, vol. xxxi.

tainly occupy a body of ten thousand men nearly two months in effectually removing.

To this may be added a suggestion, of little weight perhaps when standing alone, but worthy of mention when supporting other facts, namely, the probability of the name of *Birs*, at present applied to this monument, being a corruption of *Belus*, its original name.* *El Birs* is the epithet by which it is exclusively called by some; and whenever *Nimrood* is added, it is merely because the inhabitants of this country are as fond of attributing every thing to this "mighty hunter before the Lord," as the inhabitants of Egypt are to Pharaoh, or those of Syria to Solomon. Mr. Rich, whose authority on a point of oriental philology is of great value, says, "The etymology of the word *Birs* (برس) would furnish a curious subject for those who are fond of

* Pliny says, the Temple of Jupiter Belus was so called from Belus, a prince, the first inventor of astronomy. The city was however gone to decay, and lying waste in Pliny's time, from the vicinity of Seleucia, which had drawn off all its population.—*Nat. Hist.* b. 6. c. 26.

The Belus of the Assyrians is thought to be the Mahabali of the Hindoos, and the Shah Mahbool of the Persians, the last of the third dynasty of the ancient kings mentioned in the Dabistan.—*Hist. of Persia*, v. i. p. 248.

such discussions. It appears not to be Arabic, as it has no meaning which relates to this subject in that language, nor can the most learned persons here assign any reason for its being applied to this ruin." The change from *Belus* to *Berus*, which requires only the change of a constantly permutable letter, would be less extraordinary than a thousand others which have been insisted on as decisive; and the difference between *Berus* and *Birs* is nothing in any of the Semmetic languages, or those written without vowels, since both would be expressed by the same characters, without addition or diminution, and both consequently be the same in sound.

The objections which might be urged against the identity of the ruin at the Birs with the Temple and Tower of Jupiter Belus, deserve a moment's consideration. The first may be found in the apparent novelty of the theory, and in the fact that no one who has hitherto visited, described, or written on this ruin, with the single exception of Mr. Rich, has yet assumed it to be the temple in question. This, however, may be easily accounted for. "All travellers," says Mr. Rich, "since the time of Benjamin of Tudela,

who first revived the remembrance of the ruins, whenever they fancied themselves near the site of Babylon, universally fixed upon the *most conspicuous* eminence to represent the Tower of Belus. Benjamin of Tudela, Rauwolff, and some others, saw it among the ruins of the old Felugiah; and, fully bent upon verifying the words of Scripture, fancied it infested by every species of venomous reptile." Pietro della Valle seems to have been the first who selected the Makloube as the remains of this celebrated structure, for the reason assigned above, because it was the most conspicuous eminence among those which he had seen, and his opinion naturally remained authority, until some better was produced. Père Emanuel indeed *saw* the Birs, but, as has been said with great truth, "from the account he has given, or the clearness of the idea which he appears to have formed of it, he might, with equal advantage to the world and himself, have never seen it at all.*

Niebuhr appears to have seen it first from a distance, when he took it for a watch-tower; and subsequently to have been upon the ruin itself, as he describes the little hole in the

* Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient."

wall, which cannot be seen from below. After describing the ruin very briefly, he says, "Mais en relisant ensuite ce que Herodote dit (l. i. s. 170.) au Temple de Belus, et de sa forte Tour, il m'a paru très vraisemblable que j'en avois retrouvé là des restes; et c'est pourquoi j'espère, qu'un des mes successeurs dans ce voyage, en fera de plus exactes recherches, et nous en donnera la description."*

This was the impression made on M. Niebuhr, in merely snatching a hasty view of the ruin. This was my own impression at the first moment of approaching it, without any recollection at the time of what Niebuhr had written, and this also was the effect produced on Mr. Rich. "Previous to visiting the Birs," says that gentleman, "I had not the slightest idea of the possibility of its being the Tower of Belus; indeed its situation was a strong argument against such a supposition; but the moment I had examined it, I could not help exclaiming, 'Had this been on the other side of the river, and nearer the ruins, no one could doubt of its being the remains of the Tower.' "†

* Vol. ii. p. 236. 4to.

† Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient," p. 155.

The next objection to the identity of the Birs with the temple of Belus, may be in its situation; as it has been the commonly received opinion, that this temple stood on the eastern side of the Euphrates. The only ground upon which this was assumed by Major Rennel, is a presumption that the Belidian gate, which was known to be on the east side, was so named from its vicinity to the Temple of Belus. This has been so satisfactorily answered by Mr. Rich, as to leave nothing to add to his remarks on this subject.* The

* The passage, in which Major Rennel's objection and Mr. Rich's reply to it is contained, is worth extracting entire. It is this:—

"I believe it is nowhere positively asserted, that the Tower of Belus stood in the eastern corner of Babylon. Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, and Quintus Curtius, do not affirm this, but it is certainly the generally received opinion; and Major Rennel says, 'It may be pretty clearly collected from Diodorus, that the temple stood on the east side and the palace on the west. A presumptive proof of the supposed position of the temple, should the words of Diodorus be regarded as ambiguous, is, that the gate of the city named Belidian, and which we must conclude to be denominated from the Temple, appears pretty clearly to have been situated on the east side. When Darius Hystaspes besieged Babylon, the Belidian and Cissian gates were opened to him by Zopyrus; and the Babylonians fled to the Temple of Belus, as we may suppose the nearest place

difficulty is then reduced to its distance from the river, which is thought so great as to exclude it from the site of the city according to the generally received extent of its area, and its not apparently occupying that central situation in its own division which has

of refuge. The Cissian or Susian gate must surely have been in the eastern part of the city, as Susa lay to the east; and by circumstances, the Belidian gate was near it."* Now, I do not think these premises altogether warrant the conclusion. In these countries, as has before been remarked,† gates take the name of the places *to*, and not *from*, which they lead. The gates of Babylon are instances of this; and the very gate next the Belidian was called Susian, from the town *to* which the road it opens upon leads; so that, if the Belidian gate really derived its appellation from the temple, it would have been a singular instance, not only in Babylon, but in the whole East, at any period. It is, consequently, much easier to suppose there may have been a town, village, or other remarkable place without the city, the tradition of which is now lost, which gave its name to the gate, than that such an irregularity existed. As to the inhabitants, in their distress, taking refuge within the precincts of the temple, it is probable they were induced to it, not from its proximity to the point of attack, but as the grand sanctuary, and, from its holiness and great celebrity, the one most likely to be respected by the enemy."—*Memoir, in "Les Mines de l'Orient."*

* Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus, pp. 355—357.

† Vide, also, Rennel.

been assigned to it by the ancient writers already quoted.

If, however, the area of Babylon, as given by Herodotus, be admitted to be correct, then, taking the ruin at Al Hheimar for its eastern, and the ruin of El Birs for its western extreme, the latter will be just included within the great square of four hundred and eighty stadia, or fifteen miles on each side. It would be indeed an obstinate bending of facts to support a previously advanced theory, to suppose that so conspicuous an edifice as this of the Birs, still retaining, even to this late period, its pre-eminence over all the other Babylonian ruins, should have been situated just without the walls, on the side which could not be approached, and which had scarcely any gates, on account of the morasses pressing in that direction close on the borders of the city; and yet, that it should not be noticed by any of the writers, describing the ancient Babylon, as occupying so singular a position.

Admitting it to be within the walls, and the adoption of the area of Herodotus completely effects this, its central situation is the only difficulty to be removed to reconcile the

identity of this ruin with the monument of which it is assumed to be the remains. It may be remarked, first, that we have presumptive proof of Herodotus intending this expression of its being "in the centre" in a very general way; for he places the palace and the hanging gardens in the centre of their respective divisions also: while Diodorus is most explicit as to the fact of the palace having been near to the bridge, and consequently to the bank of the river, which could not have been the centre of the eastern division of the city; and he is borne out in this description by the statements of Strabo and Quintus Curtius, both of whom represent the hanging gardens to have been very near the river, and all agree that they were within or adjacent to the square of the fortified palace.

Since, then, this expression of the topographer, "in the centre," is found to be a general one, when confronted with the testimony of other writers, and with the appearance of the ruins, both of the palace and the hanging gardens, to which it is applied, it cannot be unfair to suppose the application of it to the Temple of Belus to be equally general, when opposed to the testimony of other

writers, and the appearance of remains still less equivocal than the former ones. Major Rennel himself says, indeed, "It is proper to remark, that there is this specific difference between the descriptions of Herodotus and Diodorus; the first says, that the *centres* of the two divisions were occupied respectively by the *palace* and the *temple:* but Diodorus, by *two palaces;* and although he speaks of the temple also, yet he does not point out its place."

But, after all, the ruins themselves, from their magnitude and general correspondence of detail with the tower, or temple, or pyramid, of Belus, may be safely admitted to contain more convincing proofs of their identity, than any thing that could be said on its positive or relative situation with respect to other edifices; and while so generally careful and accurate an investigator as Rennel could feel justified in fixing the position of this temple on such scanty materials as were presented to his choice; and, by a reference to this position so fixed, as a standard, could venture to determine the place of all the other edifices of Babylon; it may be allowed, to draw the contrary conclusions here detailed, sup-

ported as they are by ancient authorities at least as numerous, and modern appearances by far more satisfactory.

I cannot close these observations, which were all noted on the ruins themselves, and written out at length, during the evening of the same day at Hillah, while fresh from the spot, without saying, that when I first set my foot upon the ruins of Babylon, I did not expect that any thing new would offer itself to my notice. I came most certainly without any previously-formed opinions, as to positions of particular edifices at least, having with me, in addition to the written extracts made from ancient authors, Major Rennel's and Mr. Rich's Dissertations, which, though they present different and in many cases directly opposite views, I had read with equal attention at Bagdad, and again at Hillah, amidst the very ruins themselves. I came with no previous prejudices to confirm—no established theory to support; and I can say with great truth, in the frank and modest confession of Mr. Rich, that "I would rather incur the imputation of being an ignorant and superficial observer, than mislead by forming rash decisions upon subjects so difficult to be

discussed." It is for this reason, that, in the greater part of the descriptions of particular portions of these ruins, on which certain arguments are grounded, I have preferred the quotation of those from others, when they have accorded with my own impression; rather than assert the same thing in other words, as from myself; since, having devoted a shorter period than I could have desired, to the investigation of these extensive and interesting ruins, the accuracy of my details might, on that ground alone, be supposed liable to be called in question.*

* We saw nothing of the insects mentioned in the following passage of Rauwolff, and of which, after describing them, he doubts the existence, as well he might:—"Behind it, pretty near to it, did stand the Tower of Babylon, which the children of Noah (who first inhabited these countries after the deluge) began to build up unto Heaven; this we see still, and it is half a league in diameter, but it is so mightily ruined, and low, and so full of vermin that hath bored holes through it, that one may not come near it within half a mile, but only in two months in the winter, when they come not out of their holes. Among these insects, there are chiefly some, in the Persian language called Eglo by the inhabitants, that are very poisonous; they are (as others told me) bigger than our lizards, and have * three heads, and on their back several spots of several

* Rauwolff was here too credulous and facile to suffer himself to be

It was about nine o'clock, when we descended from the summit of the Birs, bringing with us some written bricks, and fragments of the vitrified masses there. We remounted our horses at the base of the monument, and after traversing the great eastern mound without observing any thing new, pursued our return to Hillah by the same route over which we had come out across the plain.

Our escort of horsemen here exercised themselves in pursuit and flight, which, with their flowing dresses and long elastic lances, produced the most picturesque effect. We learnt, in our way, that during the rains of winter, nearly the whole tract between Hillah and the Birs is converted into a marsh.

On our re-entering the town, we noticed two buildings, with high conic domes, like that of the Tomb of Zobeida, near Bagdad. One of these within the town was still used

colours, which have not only taken possession of the tower, but also of the castle, (which is not very high,) and the spring-well, that is just underneath it, so that they cannot live upon the hill, nor dare not drink of the water, (which is wholesome for the lambs.)—This is romance."—p. 138.

abused and imposed upon by these relaters; for that there neither are, nor ever were, any animals with more heads than one naturally, I do confidently affirm.—*Ray, Translator and Editor of Rauwolff.*

as a mosque; the other, in the gardens without the town, is called Mesjid el Shems, or the Mosque of the Sun, a name given to it from a tradition of its being built on the spot where Ali performed his devotions, when the sun was "polite enough (as Niebuhr expresses it) to rise a couple of hours later than usual for the accommodation of the Imaum, who having overslept himself, would have lost the usual hour of prayer but for the obliging disposition of this luminary to retard his appearance."

We passed through a long line of narrow streets and bazārs, and alighted at the khan, where we remained until the heat of the day had subsided, without further extending our inquiries regarding Hillah itself, already so often and so well described. It is seated on both banks of the Euphrates, the stream of the river running through its centre. Its two divisions are connected by a bridge of boats, close to each end of which is a door, terminating a long street of communication. The eastern division is inconsiderable in extent and population, but the western contains from eight to ten thousand inhabitants, chiefly Arab traders. There are some Jewish dealers,

who have a synagogue for their worship, but there are no resident Christians; and the only Turks here are such as fill the immediate offices dependent on the Governor, who is generally a Georgian appointed from Bagdad.

About six o'clock we mounted our horses at the khan, and went over the bridge of boats on our return, when it was as much crowded as before. Just beyond the eastern division of the town, while yet among the gardens and date-groves, we met an Arab lad, with no covering but a shirt, his hair flying loosely in the wind, a naked dagger or yambeeah in his hand, his neck and breast covered with blood, and himself running almost breathless along the road. He made no replies to our questions, and seemed as if flying from some murderous affray.

As we approached the mounds on the eastern division of the ruined Babylon, the Koord guide and an Arab of our party expressed great alarm, from the evil spirits, both of the living and dead, whom they firmly believe to haunt these heaps at night. We passed, however, unmolested by both, which they attributed to some favourable influence possessed by Mr. Bellino, as an European and

a man of necromantic learning, and slept at the khan of Mohāwil in safety.

July 28th.—The rest of our way to Bagdad was marked by no peculiar occurrence, as we travelled chiefly by night, and halted during the heat of the day, on the same road by which we had come down.

On the morning of the 30th, as we approached Bagdad, we met a caravan of Persian corpses, conveying to Imaum Hussein for interment. Near the bend of the Tigris, about two hours below Bagdad, we were shewn the marks of an inundation all the way from the Euphrates, rafts even coming over from one river close to the other by its waters. This is greater in extent than any inundation of the Nile, and proves also that the bed of the Euphrates is higher at Felugiah than that of the Tigris at Bagdad, in a line of east and west; though the course of the former river is slow, as if its descent were gentler, and that of the latter rapid, as if its descent were steeper, than the other; a difference to be accounted for only by the more winding course of the Euphrates.

We arrived at the hospitable residence of

Mr. Rich, in time to join the family at breakfast, and passed some hours of the day together, in recounting the incidents of our journey, and comparing our notes and opinions on the interesting remains of the ruined city we had returned from visiting.

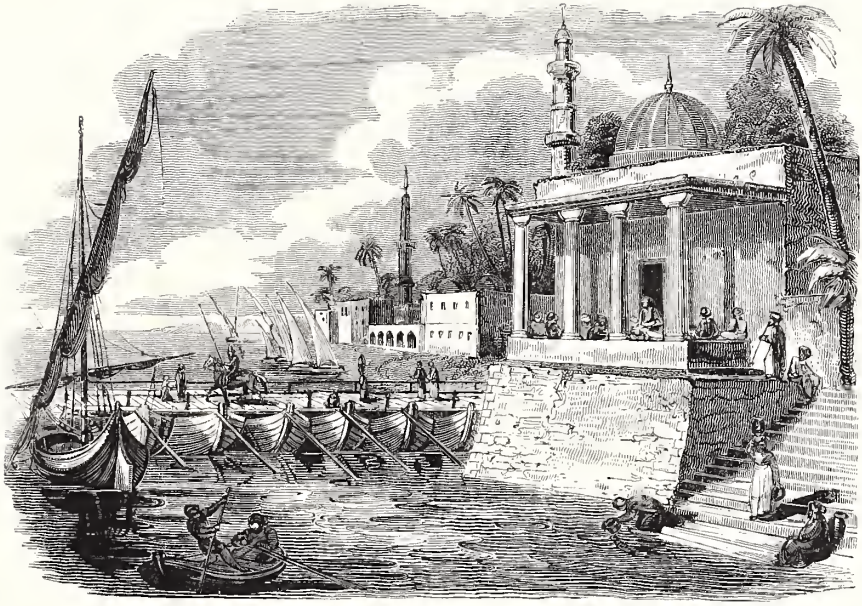
CHAPTER XII.

OBSERVATIONS MADE AT BAGDAD.

On the day after our return from Hillah, I had been seized with a severe fever, an effect of the heat and fatigue of the journey. This confined me for some time to my bed, during which period my companion also suffered from the same cause. I was again recovering my strength, however, until about a fortnight after my first attack, when, exposing myself to the sun at noon-day, in order to fix the latitude of Bagdad by a meridian altitude, at the request of Mr. Rich, I experienced a *coup de soleil*, which threw me into a relapse, and occasioned a longer and more severe illness than the first attack.*

* The observation of the sun's meridian altitude, taken on the 4th of August, 1816, for ascertaining the latitude of Bagdad, gave the following result :—

CHAPTER XII.



TURKISH COFFEE-HOUSE,

NEAR THE BRIDGE OF BOATS ON THE TIGRIS AT BAGDAD.

During this confinement, I had the benefit of the best medical advice, from the physician of the establishment, Dr. Hine, and every comfort which Mr. Rich's house, and the kind attentions of himself and family, could afford. But the state of the weather was itself a sufficient obstacle to rapid recovery; as, from the close of July until the middle of August, the thermometer stood at an average between 119° and 122° of Fahrenheit, in the shade at noon, with calms, now and then broken by the Simoom or Desert wind. Those who had long resided in the country had known nothing like this heat for any great number of days in succession before; and its effects were universally felt among all classes. Here, in the midst of every convenience that money could procure to ameliorate it, we fled to the terrace for air at night, and to the subter-

	°	′	
Observed altitude of ⊙'s lower limb	73	41	
⊙'s semidiameter		16	
Altitude of ⊙'s centre	73	57	
Polar distance	90	00	
Zenith distance	16	3	N.
⊙'s declination, reduced to the meridian ...	17	18	N.
Latitude	33	21	N.

raneous cells for shelter during the day; in both cases, going nearly without garments, and finding it a sufficient penance to dress even in the lightest robes for an hour at breakfast, which was never later than seven o'clock in the morning, and again for dinner, which was always an hour after sun-set.

By a Tartar who had recently arrived from Constantinople, we heard the most distressing accounts of the state of the country, which was parched and burnt up, in the immediate neighbourhood of Bagdad and Mousul, by the excessive heat; and accidents of death from the same cause were daily reported to us. We learnt, at the same time, the fact of a kellek or raft, coming from Mousul to Bagdad by the Tigris, having been attacked by Arabs in a narrow part of the river, and every creature on board it murdered.

The continuance of the Fast of Ramazān, added to my yet weak state of health, and the oppressive heat of the weather, were sufficient reasons for my postponing the further prosecution of my journey towards India, until more favourable combinations might allow me to do so without great risk.

During this period of my recent illness, two

vessels had arrived at Bussorah from India, one of them the East-India Company's cruiser Aurora, which brought despatches, and then sailed again directly, in order to take round the Bishop of Calcutta from Bombay to Bengal; the other, his Majesty's ship Favourite, the Honourable Captain Maude, who had taken an English vessel from Muskat, laden with slaves, and departed from Bussorah again so soon, that there was no hope of my reaching her in time.

The tedium of my confinement was considerably relieved by the number and variety of excellent books which Mr. Rich's library contained, and which were accompanied also by the most unreserved communication from that gentleman himself, of every thing calculated to increase the interest of my future journey eastward. In his extensive and valuable collection of antiques, I found also a source of amusement and information. These were chiefly Babylonian, and consisted of cylinders, amulets, idols, and intaglios, of the most curious kind. Among these I was more particularly struck with some cylinders, drilled through with holes, as if to be worn round the neck, the ornaments on which were purely

Egyptian; the winged globe, wavy lines of water, the lotus, the moon, a globe in a boat, sacrifices of gazelles, rams' heads; a lunated female divinity, like Isis; priests in the same attitudes, and divinities on similar thrones to those of Egypt, with a mixture of Persepolitan figures and symbols on the same objects, and most of them accompanied by inscriptions in the arrow-headed character, such as has been found at the ruins of Persepolis, Babylon, and Nineveh. Besides these, were a fine ram's head in agate, as of Jupiter Ammon; a cow, or bull, in copper, as of Apis or Mnevis; a male figure in a sitting attitude, but unsupported by a seat, bearing an open scroll on his knees, the whole of copper, and in the most decidedly Egyptian style; a porcelain or opaque stone scarabeus, bored through with a longitudinal hole covered with small inscriptions; and many other smaller articles, which, if presented to me as Egyptian, I should have received as such, where the Babylonian writing did not prove them to have had a more eastern origin.

Among the coins were a number of silver ones that had been dug up in an urn on the banks of the Tigris, which were obtained with

difficulty by Mr. Rich, as the Pasha wished to conceal the fact of treasure having been found in his dominions, from a fear that its amount would be exaggerated by the time the news reached Constantinople, and a demand of restitution from the Sultan might follow, as all treasure found in this way is his legal right. These coins included Athenian, Samian, and Corinthian, with several of Alexander and Antiochus. There were also others of silver, bearing on one side a turretted fortress, with two lions underneath it, and on the reverse, a figure about to stab the unicorn, so frequently represented in the Persepolitan sculptures; so that these coins were most probably of that place. Besides these, were gold and silver medals of the Sassanides, of Sapor, and Ardeschir, collected at different periods, and many Cufic rings, seals, and talismans, with holy sentences engraven on them.

It may be noted as a singular fact regarding these Babylonian cylinders, which appear to have been worn around the neck, as the amulets of Egypt, that one of them was found by Baron Haller, a German traveller, well known in Greece, on the Plain of Marathon, no doubt left there by one of the Persian

army, on that memorable day, and perhaps worn by one of the Babylonian legion, the destruction of whose corpse it had so long survived.

The larger antiques comprehended a figure in brass, embracing a large lingam between its knees, precisely in the style of the Hindoo representation of that emblem; a block of black basalt, much injured, but on which was still seen, well sculptured, a fine ram, fronting a monolithic temple, like that before which the cat is seen sitting in the temple of Hermonthis, in Egypt, the shape of the monolith, as well as the attitude of the animals, being, in both cases, exactly the same; this stone was covered with inscriptions, in the arrow-headed character, very neatly cut. On another large block of stone was seen the figure of a priest, leaning on a staff, well preserved, and terminating in a flower on the top. This was no doubt a Babylonian relic, as Diodorus Siculus says, that the Babylonians all bore in their hands a well-fashioned stick, at the extremity of which was a rose, or some other ornament; for, he adds, it was not permitted for them to carry these sticks without their having some distinctive sign.

Such staffs are often seen in the hands of Egyptian priests, and other figures, on their temples, and when borne by Isis, it is generally terminated by a lotus.*

Among the smaller intaglios, was a singular figure, altogether composed of globes of large diameter for the body, and smaller ones for the head, the legs, and the arms,—probably having some astronomical allusions. One of the agate cylinders was found at Nineveh, and seemed to have some of the constellations designed on it, with spirited figures of animals and men, in action, well cut. The cylinders were in general, however, of a composition not unlike plumbago, but finer and harder.

The silver coins, found buried on the banks of the Tigris, included some which had, on one side, a sea-horse in the water, and over it, as if on the surface of the sea, an old Greek galley, filled with armed men, with helmets and shields; the design of the reverse was quite unintelligible. On others were, on one side, an owl, with hawk's legs; and, on the other, a bearded figure, driving a pair of horses in the sea, as if emblematic of Minerva and Neptune. Others, again, had on one side

* See Memoires de l'Acad. Royale, tome xxix. p. 146.

a castle; and, on the other, a beautiful chariot and pair of horses, with two figures, a warrior and charioteer, as in the sculptures at the cave of Beit el Waali, above the cataracts of the Nile, in Nubia.

Among these curiosities, there was also a supposed seal of one of the Khalifs, dug up at Old Bagdad, and containing the words "Ya Allah!" (O God!) in large Kufic characters, deeply cut, on a substance resembling that of the ancient cylinders. A crystal seal, with Hebrew characters on it, easy to be deciphered, but making nothing intelligible in its combinations, was pretended, by those who found it, to have been the seal of Solomon; but it was most probably a cabalistic impress, used by some of the old Jews of Babylonia, among whom that science was in high repute.*

* Among the Talismans of the East, the most powerful were *Mohur Solimani*, the seal or ring of Soliman Jared, fifth monarch of the world, after Adam. These, it was held, had the power to control even the arms and magic of the Dives, or giants: and their possessors enjoyed the entire command over the elements, the Demons, and all created beings. See D'Herbelot, "Bibliothèque Orientale," and Richardson's "Dissertation." Much curious learning might be thrown together on the subject of talis-

Added to the Indian figure of a man with a pointed bonnet and beard, embracing the lingam, I saw also, in the possession of an Ar-

mans, amulets, &c.; but a note is not, of course, the proper place to enter into such researches: the reader may not, however, be displeased to find the following particulars. The ancient Pagans of Greece and Rome, no less than those of the East, were strongly addicted to repose confidence in gems, with talismanic characters engraven on them, or steeped in astrological influences. From a passage of Trebellius Pollio, one of the Augustine historians, we learn, (at least, according to the interpretation of the erudite M. Baudelot,) that the Roman generals of Gallienus's time were accustomed to wear, both in peace and war, certain magical bauldrieks,—"constellatos baltheos,"—which were supposed to ensure them from danger or envy. The use of these charms may be traced to the remotest antiquity, for it was encouraged by the genius of polytheism. Their inventor, according to obscure tradition, was a certain man, named Jachis whom Suidas supposes to have lived under the reign of Sennyes, King of Egypt. He must have carried on a large business, for, besides the common talismans, περίαπτοι, he manufactured secret remedies against all pains and aches, against the burning rays of the sun, and the influence of the dog-star. Others confer the honour of this priestly quackery on Necepsos, a king of Egypt, who lived about two hundred years before the time of Solomon, but subsequent to Jachis. To him Ausonius attributes the initiation of the Magi in these vain mysteries: "Quique Magos docuit mysteria vana Neecpsos."

Tertullian, a superstitious writer, talks of the emeralds which the ancients wore, it is conjectured, for magical

menian, a demi-transparent stone, like a brown agate, with a fine triad on it, the heads and full-length figures apparently all female, judg-

purposes, in their girdles; and Pliny and Marcellus Empiricus also speak of these same emeralds, which, when sculptured into the form of an eagle or scarabæus, were supposed to possess wonderful virtues. Among other things, it was thought that the steady contemplation of a scarabæus, of the colour of an emerald, tended to strengthen the sight in a very wonderful manner. Pliny observes, that, throughout the East, a certain greenish jasper was worn as an amulet; and that it was to the wearing of something of the kind, that the Crotonian Milo, the celebrated athleta, owed, according to report, his many glorious victories. The soldiers of ancient Egypt always carried about their persons the figure of a scarabæus, which they firmly believed had the power to shield them from the accidents and dangers of war. But let not the reader despise them on this account: British mariners of the nineteenth century exhibit a superstition no less gross and stupid, when, on undertaking long voyages, they purchase a child's caul, to protect them from the fury of oceans and tempests, and nail a horse-shoe at the heel of the bowsprit, to protect the ship from ghosts and witches. The Egyptians beheld in the scarabæus a sacred image, for it was one of their gods. And a colossal deity of this species, cut out of black granite, may be seen in the British Museum, in what, I suppose, is meant for the pronaos of the *Elgin* Parthenon.

If we may rely on the testimony of Trebellius Pollio, the Macrii, a Roman family, entertained so profound a veneration for Alexander the Great, that both the males and females of this family always wore his image engraven on

ing from the features as well as the drapery. This had three distinct faces and six arms, each extended, with a little bending at all the elbows; in the upper pair of arms, were a lighted candle in each; in the second pair, a naked dagger in each; and in the third pair, a sort of whip in each; so that the right and left hand of each pair bore the same emblem, and all wore the exact appearance of a deity of Hindoostan. This was also found at Babylon; and on its reverse were some Greek letters, in cabalistic combinations, more recently cut than the original figure, and of a very imperfect form.

This collection of antiques contained, besides its written bricks, and other things purely Babylonian, so many curious affinities

their rings, bracelets, and other ornaments. The *bullæ*, too, which the children of Rome suspended on their breasts, —nay, which the very consuls and senators wore in their triumphs, as charms, to avert envy, were nothing but amulets, or talismans. See Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, tome ii. pp. 378—386. It should be remarked, however, that what M. Baudelot here says, after Macrobius, of the *bullæ* being worn by great men during their triumphs, is controverted, and I think successfully, by Middleton, "Germane quædam Antiquitatis," &c. pp. 43, 44.

to Egyptian symbols on the one side, and to Indian on the other, that there seemed every reason to believe the central situation of this great city of Babylon, between these two teeming sources of superstition, had occasioned it to receive many of the deities and doctrines of each into its own peculiar system of mythology and mystery.

The heat of the weather had prevented the usual fête on the birth-day of the Prince Regent, (the 12th of August,) but the Resident's body-guard of Indian sepoys was paraded, and the visits of the usual attendants of the Divan were received with the formality of full dresses on the occasion. Among these were only two Franks, the one a young surgeon from Damascus, who had come here to seek employment in his profession among the Turks; the other the secretary of the French Consul, M. Vigoroux being himself ill at the time; an old friar, vicar apostolic of Babylonia, and head of the Catholics of Bagdad; and a Persian, who was so old as to remember the siege of Bagdad by Nadir Shah, being born at Ispahan in 1720, and educated at Rome, from whence he had come here to reside, as head of the Armenian church at this city. Be-

sides these, were Christians, Jews, Turks, and some entertaining Dervishes, as well as all those in dependence on the establishment, forming altogether a very numerous train.

The Christians of Bagdad are but few in number; but the Jews are said to amount to ten thousand at least, in this city alone. It appears, that ever since the two great captivities of Nineveh and Babylon, in which the ancestors of this people were carried away from Palestine, they have abounded in these parts, more than in any other portion of the globe; having generally observed with rigour the law of marrying only in their own race, and having had no destructive wars to carry them off, as they seldom or ever engage in the contests and disputes of their masters.

In the examination of Benjamin de Tudela's early and interesting Travels in the East, it appeared to me, that his general accuracy has been very unjustly impeached; and as his work, the original of which was written in Hebrew, is but very imperfectly known to the general readers of Travels, a few observations on its account of Bagdad at least may not be misplaced. The geography and local descriptions of his book prove that this enter-

prising Jew really went over most of the ground he describes, to which his claim to accuracy must be confined; for, like Herodotus, and indeed many more modern travellers, whenever he quits the boundaries of his own observation, all is fable and exaggeration. At this moment, however, there are, in many of the places that he names, by far more Jews than there were even in his day; and this being the case, it is but fair to admit the possibility of their having been more in some others at the date of his writing, than are to be found now, since change in this respect is so likely, from a thousand causes, to happen.

I have followed the footsteps of this early traveller, with great interest, through Syria and Mesopotamia; and his description of the ancient Bagdad excites but a continuation of the same feeling of respect for his general veracity. As he set out on his travels so early as the year 1173 of the Christian era, and the oldest dates of the inscriptions at Bagdad are 1221, for the foundation of the walls and construction of the towers by the Khalif Nassr, in the year of the Hejira 618, and 1232 for the foundation of the celebrated Medrassee or College for the learned, by the Khalif Mos-

tanser, in the year of the Hejira 630, it follows that it must have been the *ancient* Bagdad, the ruins of which are supposed to be still visible on the west of the Tigris, and not the present city, which Benjamin of Tudela describes. He calls it a large city, where commences the Empire of the Caliph of the Abassides, chief of the family of their Prophet, and held in veneration by all the kings of the Desert Arabs, as a sort of sovereign pontiff among them. The palace of the Caliph is said to have been three miles in circumference, with a forest of fruit and other trees, a multitude of animals and birds and in the midst of it, a lake formed by the waters of the Tigris which were let in there, so that hunting and fishing could be commanded as constant diversions. This space was as large as that occupied by the castellated palace and hanging gardens of Babylon, and laid out nearly in the same way, having been used, in the time of its perfection, for a park, for which purpose the other is said to have served in the progress of its decline.

The name of the Caliph, in Benjamin's time, was Abassidas Ahmed; he was a great friend to the Israelites, understood the He-

brew, which he read and wrote with perfection, and was deeply learned in the law of Moses. In the present day, during the residence at Bagdad of Dr. Hine, physician of the English establishment, there has been a similar instance of a Kiahya, or Lieutenant of the Pasha, who was more learned in the Hebrew than any of the Jews, and spoke it with facility, which the Jews of Bagdad generally do not, Turkish and Arabic being the languages in which they ordinarily communicate. This Caliph, it appears, like the one who then reigned at Cairo, never shewed himself throughout the year, but at the Fast of Ramadān, except when the Pilgrims returned from Mecca at any other portion of the year, in which case they alone had the privilege of kissing the hem of his garment, after which they each retired to his country in peace, having nearly as high a respect for this representative of the Prophet as for the Prophet himself. This is easy of belief, as happening among early Mohammedans, when we know how far a reverence for the Pontiff of the West, and the Vicar of Christ upon earth, is even now carried among the Catholics of Italy and Spain.

From an attempt having been once made on the life of the Caliph, by the intrigues of men ambitious to reign in his stead, all his officers had their apartments within the walls of his palace; and every individual of his family or race, who might have had pretensions to share his power, were bound with chains of iron. Aspirers to forbidden honours are now generally destroyed, by the reigning Sultan of the Turks, whose unwillingness "to bear a brother near the throne," has become proverbial. Here, however, in Benjamin's time, they were suffered to live, and have each their separate court, the splendour of which was maintained by the tribute of particular villages, districts, and lands, collected by their own treasurers, and applied exclusively to their own use. On the going out of the Caliph from his palace, at the fast of Ramazān, to the Great Mosque for prayer, he is said to have ridden on a mule, dressed in his robes of sovereignty, but bearing at the same time, over a rich turban, a black veil, as a mark of humility, and to suggest to beholders, that all the sumptuous magnificence with which he was then surrounded, would one day be covered with the shadows of death.

He was followed by all the chiefs of the Arabs, magnificently dressed, and mounted on the most beautiful horses; and the road from the palace to the mosque was lined with a crowded populace, among whom were dancers, singers, and musicians, to greet the passage of the Chief. All these saluted him by saying, "Peace be upon thee, O! our Lord and King!" which, on his part, he returned by lifting his hand to his mouth and forehead, so as to touch it with the sleeve of his own garment, and signifying to the multitude, by extending his hand, that he gave to them the same salute, "On you be peace!" in which manner these mutual interchanges of respect and condescension continued all the way to the door of the mosque.*

All this is, no doubt, a faithful picture of the manners of Bagdad in the Rabbi's time, as it resembled, in almost every particular, the entrance of the present Pashâ of Bagdad, which I myself witnessed on the morning of

* In an account of the first Tartar conquests of Mousul and Bagdad, there is a description of the state dress and ceremonies of the Caliph, Ul Kain, which resembles that described by Benjamin of Tudela, in the account here given.—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 355.

my first arrival at the city-gate. He was preceded by his troops, with a band of music and drums, on horseback, and followed by the principal chiefs of his court, on the most beautiful animals, richly caparisoned. All operations were suspended as he passed, and not a pipe was lighted, nor even a cup of coffee served, until he had gone by; every one from among the spectators made the most respectful salutes of "Salām Alaikom," with a rising and inclination of the body at the same time; and to the humblest this was returned by the Pasha, with the answer of "Alaikom Salām," and either a laying of the hand on the heart, or an elevation of it to the mouth and forehead, in the universal manner of the country; this sort of reciprocal politeness continuing all the way from the city-gates to the palace.

Arrived at the mosque, the Caliph himself, it appears, delivered, in Benjamin's day, a sermon on some portion of the Koran, and received the benedictions and praises of the faithful; after which, a camel was sacrificed, as now a lamb is killed at the feast of the Kourban Bairām. The Khalif then returned to his palace, from which he never again went out during the rest of the year; and so great

was the veneration for his person, that even the ground on which he had trodden was henceforward held sacred.* This pontiff appears to have been even more pious than those who usually filled that office. Among other things, he had made a solemn vow, neither to eat, drink, nor wear any articles of food and apparel except such as could be paid for by the labour of his own hands. For this purpose, he employed his leisure in making small mats of a curious kind, probably used as carpets now are for prayer, which, being marked with his own seal, were sent by his officers to

* The dominion of Malik Shah, one of the Seljooke, or Tartar, dynasty, was so extensive, that it reached from the shores of the Mediterranean almost to the walls of China, and prayers were daily offered up for him in the cities of Jerusalem, Mecca, Medina, Bagdad, Ispahan, Rhe, Bokhara, Samarcand, Ourgungè, and Kashgar. In the year 481 of the Hejira, he made a pompous pilgrimage to Mecca, built many caravanserais on the way, and abolished the duties exacted from pilgrims. D'Herbelot tells an anecdote of his crossing the Oxus, when the boatmen complained to him that they were paid by a bill on the revenues of Antioch; but the minister of finance replying that this was not to defer their payment, but to manifest the glory of their sovereign, and the wide extent of his dominion, they were satisfied, since they could negotiate it.—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 366.

be sold in the public market. These never wanted purchasers among the chiefs of the people, so that the money furnished by them served amply for the purpose to which it was applied. Had this been the only trait of his piety, it might have seemed frivolous enough; though no one could deny it the merit of being a good example of industry to the people at large and an excellent mode of evincing his approbation of the doctrine, that man should live by useful labours. But this was not all; the Rabbi Benjamin, a stranger of a different faith, and one who, being forbidden to enter the temples of their Prophet, and held to be impure, was not likely to be seduced into too favourable an opinion of an unbeliever, describes this Caliph of Bagdad as being a man of probity, respecting his word, attached to the duties of his religion, of the most affable manners, and addressing himself with condescension and familiarity to men of every class; leading, it is said, a life of purity and equity, his chief aim being to do good.

On the borders of the Tigris were erected by him a hospital for the sick, and another for the insane; in the first of which, besides

every possible convenience for the unfortunate sufferers, were sixty apothecaries, well supplied with all kinds of medicines and drugs then known and used, as well as every necessary and comfort of food and nourishment, all at the expense of the Caliph, by whose orders every care continued to be exercised towards the patients, until their perfect recovery or death. The hospital of insanity was called "Dar al Marapther," or, "Dar al Marhhammas," the House of Mercy; and the establishment for the treatment and recovery of the patients seems to have been as well regulated as the former, under the inspection of proper persons engaged for that purpose.

This Jewish traveller concludes by saying, "The king did this with the intention of exercising mercy generally towards all those who, during their stay in Bagdad, were afflicted with any malady, whether it affected their bodies or their minds." And this proves what we had before said, that he was a man full of humanity and upright intentions.* The Mosque of Flowers, as it is called, or the

* See the "Voyage de Benjamin de Tudèle," in Bergeron's Collection, in French, pp. 34, 35. 4to.

Hospital for the Blind, is an institution of a similar kind, founded by one of the early Arabian Caliphs, and still existing at Cairo.

Notwithstanding the great size and celebrity of Bagdad as the metropolis of the Mohammedan world, and the residence of the chief among the Jews, it is said, when Benjamin wrote, to have contained only a tenth part of its present number of Hebrew inhabitants, or about a thousand; an estimate which, coupled with that of two thousand for Cairo, and the low numbers given to many large towns in Syria, must exonerate this observing traveller from the common charge of exaggeration, raised against him on this subject particularly. When speaking of such places as he had himself seen, his accuracy is, I think, unquestionable; though, in giving an account of countries beyond the limits of his own personal observation, he was, no doubt, liable to the same errors as all those who describe things on the authority of others.

It is curious to observe, that among the chiefs of the assemblies then resident at Bagdad, there was one Eliezer Ben Isamah, president of the fifth class, who traced his de-

scent from the Prophet Samuel, and who, being a great proficient on the harp, played, accompanied by his brothers, on the sacred instrument of the royal David, in the exact manner which was in use in those early times, when the House of the Sanctuary still existed. The Chief of the next class was called "the Flower of his Companions," and the names of all the others are given in detail.

The principal officer of all, however, was Daniel, the son of Hhasdai, who was called "the Conductor of the Captivity," and preserved a book of his genealogy, in direct descent from David. His authority, being derived from the Caliph himself, was great in all the assemblies of the Israelites; and a decree of the Mohammedan Pontiff had ordered that Moslems, as well as the followers of every other religion, should pay this Chief of the Captives all due respect, by rising in his presence to salute him, in default of which, a hundred strokes of the bastinado was the punishment to be given.

When Daniel went to visit the Caliph, he was accompanied by a number of horsemen, Jews as well as Gentiles, at whose head was one, who, like the Baptist before the Messiah,

crying, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight," exclaimed also on this occasion, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, the son of David, who is just." The manner of his receiving authority from the Caliph, was by the laying on of hands; on the day of which ceremony, he rode in the second chariot of the realm, with all its dependent ornaments, wearing robes of silk, with Phrygian embroidery, a noble tiara on the head, encircled by a white veil, similar to those, perhaps, now used in the service of the synagogue at Jerusalem, and round this veil a rich chain of gold, so that he appeared in as high splendour as the Prophet Daniel himself at the court of the great Belshazzer, in Susa. The city of Bagdad, the rulers and chief people of which Benjamin of Tudela thus minutely describes, was then, to use his own words, seated in the most fertile part of the land of Senaar, or Shinar, abounding in fine gardens, producing excellent fruits, and being the rendezvous of merchants and traders from all parts of the world, as well as the focus of wisdom and science, and the school of philosophers and men learned in the mathematics, in astrology, and the doctrines of the Cabala.

In following the route of this early Jew's wanderings from hence, Gehiaga, which he reached in two days from Bagdad, would seem to be the Felugia of the present maps. He did not, however, conceive this to be Babylon, as has been supposed, but took it for the *Resen* of the Scriptures, which is said to have been a great city, and there are still extensive ruins here to bear out the supposition. It was a day's journey from hence to the ancient Babel; and if the passage were made by boats, and on the stream of the Euphrates, on whose banks both these places stand, the distance might be easily accomplished in that space of time. He here vaguely alludes to the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar, which could not be entered on account of its being the abode of dragons and wild beasts; but, as he speaks only of a palace, and fixes it at a place which the people of the country still make the abode of demons and evil spirits, as well as numerous reptiles of all kinds, he no doubt alluded to the mounds of the Mujellibé, where the palace and hanging gardens appear to have been, and which is the only part of the whole territory that is called "Babel," even to the present day.

He clearly distinguishes this from from the Tower of Babel, which he describes as being four miles beyond Hhilan, meaning Hillah, from which it is actually distant about six, though there seems to be some corruption of numbers in the distance from Babel to Hhilan, which is made fifteen miles in figures, and may probably have been written five. There were then ten thousand Jews there, the number at present at Bagdad; and the number of one thousand, given as the amount then residing at Bagdad, is about that of those at present at Hillah, so that there seems to have been only a change of place, without an augmentation or diminution of actual numbers in both.

The local features of the "Birs" are well detailed by Benjamin; for, besides its tolerably accurate distance of four miles from Hillah, he says, it was constructed of that sort of brick called, in Arabic, "Lagzar," which, a marginal note adds, was of the dimensions of eight inches broad, six thick, and twelve long, which is near the truth. The foundations, he says, were two miles long, perhaps rather in circuit, and intended to include the ruined temple and its mounds of rubbish, &c. He

speaks of spiral passages up its sides, of ten cubits wide, which are not now apparent, and might have been imagined by him to exist beneath the outer rubbish of the ruins, as corresponding with the oldest drawings of the edifice, attached to copies of the sacred writings. He says, indeed, that there *were* such passages, without positively stating them to be visible at the time of his visit.

Being mounted on the summit, he continues, the view is extended to the distance of twenty miles round, more particularly as the country there is an extensive and perfect level, all which is strictly accurate. He says also, in the language of the traditions still existing, that the place was "destroyed by fire from heaven," an opinion, no doubt, originating in the appearance of the large vitrified masses there described: he adds, that the upper part of the building was thus destroyed, leaving only the lower stages, on the summit of which he had mounted. Half a day's journey from this was the sepulchre and synagogue of Napheus, near which resided two hundred Jews; and three leagues from this, was the tomb of the Prophet Ezekiel; both of which agree, in name and distance, with

the places still known as such, and leave no doubt of his having personally visited the Birs, which he thus describes, with so many local features of accuracy, as the ruined Tower of Babel.

Had any other cause than ill health, and the extraordinary heat of the weather, detained me at Bagdad, I should have gladly visited many of the places spoken of in this early Book of Travels, more particularly Felugia, and some of the present places of pilgrimage of the Jews. But, under existing circumstances, there was no moving out by day, and scarcely any suffering the oppressive sultriness of the nights. My occupations were therefore limited to such light reading as would beguile the time; for the powers of the mind were so unhinged by the influence of the climate, as to be incapable of close application to any subject requiring much thought.

During the nights of the Ramazān, I visited most of those mosques, at the hour of of evening prayer, and passed several hours afterwards until midnight in rambling through the bazārs, reposing at the coffee-houses, and making one in most of the parties of diversion at the public places.

Among all the mosques of Bagdad, I saw not one that could be compared to many at Cairo, or to the great ones at Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, or Diarbekr. The Mosque of the Maidān, which has lately received many external embellishments, and has a handsome dome and minaret, adorned with coloured tiles, paintings, and inscriptions, is not of corresponding beauty within; and, except that it was clean and well lighted, it had nothing to deserve peculiar description.

The Mosque of the Vizier, which is close by the banks of the Tigris, and just above the bridge, is also of considerable size, and has a handsome dome, which makes a fine appearance from without; but its interior is dirty, and in great want of repair.

The Mosque of the Pasha, which is very near to the last, was better lighted than all the others, the lamps of its exterior gallery being the only ones throughout the city that continued to burn until day-light; but, in other respects, the building possessed no remarkable features, its architecture is in bad taste, and its minaret had such an inclination from a perpendicular, that it seemed to threaten a speedy fall.

The Mosque of Abass el Kaddr is the largest, and, on the whole, perhaps the best in Bagdad; but this has little, except its fine flat domes, to attract admiration. It is greatly inferior to the Mosque of Solomon, on the site of the Jewish Temple at Jerusalem, as well as to most of the noble mosques of Damascus and Aleppo.

The place of the Maidān never failed to be crowded every night, with people of all classes; and every mode of diversion in use here, singing, dancing, and music, with blazing fires, lamps, &c. were called in, to add to the effect of the general rejoicing.*

* The fast of the Ramazān occupies one whole month, in every year; and as the Mohammedans reckon their time by lunar months, this fast occurs successively at every season of the year, within the circle of time which it takes to bring the beginning of the solar and lunar years to correspond. The winter season, when the climate is temperate, and the nights long, is the most agreeable to the people for it to happen in. The worst season is that of the summer, especially when so oppressively hot as this has proved. During the whole of this month, every orthodox Moslem fasts rigidly from sun-rise to sun-set, not permitting water, or even a pipe of tobacco, to pass his lips. At sun-set they are released from their abstinence, till the following morning; so that the whole night is given up to enjoyment. And this alternate succession of fasting by day, and feast-

The bazārs, which were mostly deserted during the day, were thronged at night by a multitude of idlers, all arrayed in their best apparel; and, as the light shalloons of Angora are generally used for the outer garments, these never failed to produce a brilliant assemblage of colours, though the turbans were almost invariably white.

The peculiar gloom, which reigned throughout these dark brick-vaulted passages during the morning, was now removed by a profusion of lamps and torches, with which every shop, and bench, and coffee-shed, was illuminated, and all was life and gaiety. It was on these nights of the Ramazān only, that the bazārs of Bagdad equalled the idea which one would form of them, on reading the descriptions of Oriental cities in Arabian tales; and dull and uninteresting as they seemed to me, on my first passing through them by day, I was amply compensated for my original disappointment, and constantly delighted by rambling through them, and mixing in their gay crowds, at night.

ing by night, continues, from the first dawn of the moon of Ramazān, to the appearance of the moon of Bairām, which succeeds it.

But the scene which pleased me more than all, was that presented at midnight, from the centre of the bridge of boats across the Tigris. The morning breeze had, by this time, so completely subsided, that not a breath was stirring, and the river flowed majestically along, its glassy surface broken only by the ripple of the boats' stems, which divided the current as it passed their line. In this resplendent mirror was seen, reflected back, another heaven of stars, almost equal in brilliance to that which spread our midnight canopy; not a cloud veiled the smallest portion of this deep blue vault, so thickly studded with myriads of burning worlds. The forked galaxy, with its whitened train of other myriads, too distant to be distinctly seen, formed a broad and lucid band across the zenith; and even the reflection of this milky way, as belting the seeming heaven below us, was most distinctly marked upon the bosom of the silent stream.

The only persons seen upon the bridge, at this late hour of the night, were some few labourers, who, exhausted with the riot of the feast, had stolen into the bows of the boats, and coiled themselves away like serpents be-

tween the timbers, to catch there, undisturbed, the short repose which was necessary to fit them for the morrow's burthens. It is the rich alone who can devote the night throughout to revelry, and the day to uninterrupted ease: the poor are obliged, though fasting, to earn by labour their daily portion of food. Excepting here, where I came often by night during the Ramazān, and sat for an hour in silent admiration of the beautiful heaven above, and placid stream below, with not a creature near me, except the weary sleepers already described, the voice of joy was heard on every side. The whole of the river's banks were illuminated, as far as the eye could follow the Tigris in its course. The large coffee-house near the Medrāssee el Mostanser, or College of the Learned, so often mentioned in Arabian story, presented one blaze of light on the eastern side. The still larger one, opposite to this, illuminated by its lamps the whole western bank; and as these edifices were both facing the separate extremities of the bridge of boats, a stream of light extended from each, completely across it, even to the centre of the stream; and on the surface itself were seen floating lighted

lamps, and vessels filled with inflammable substances, to augment the general blaze.*

It was on the evening of the 19th of August, that, during our admiration of the brilliant sky of this climate, a meridian altitude of some fixed star was suggested, to confirm the accuracy of the latitude deduced from the solar observation on the 4th of the month, and Altair in Aquila falling at the most convenient time for that purpose, its altitude was taken before we quitted our tea-table on the terrace. The only instrument Mr. Rich possessed was one of Spencer, Browning, and Rust's common quadrants, and this thrown a little out of its adjustment by the late great heats. Had there been other and better instruments here, no situation could have been more favourable for astronomical observations; as we had a spacious terrace, an artificial horizon, and the atmosphere always beautifully clear at night; but without sextant, chronometer, telescopes, or ephemeris,

* Un des divertissemens que l'on prend dans cette navigation, (du Tigre,) est de mettre le feu au Nafte, qui, après être sorti de sources auprès de Mosul, et plus bas, se repand sur le surface du Tigre: il semble alors que la rivière soit enflammée.—*Otter*, tome i. p. 158.

we were obliged to be content with such results as were attainable by the quadrant alone, assisted by the common Tables of Norie and Moore. This observation gave us a latitude of 33° 18′ 57″ N. which, wanting only three seconds of 33° 19′, left a mean of 33° 20′ between this and the solar observation which preceded it; and considering that there was a slight imperfection in the instrument, we conceived this a sufficient coincidence to shew that the results of both were very near the truth.†

			°	′	″	
† Right Ascension of Altair for 1800 .			19	41	1	
Annual Variation ...	2″	92‴				
Elapsed Years ...		16½				
...				0	48	
	48	16				
*'s Right Ascension for August, 1816 ...			19	41	49	
⊙'s Right Ascension for August 19th ...			9	52	00	
Time of *'s coming to meridian, P.M. ...			9	49	49	
Declination of Altair for 1800			8	20	57	N.
Annual Variation of increase 8″ 5″						
Elapsed Years		16½				
...				2	22	
*'s Corrected Declination			8	23	19	N.

Observed Altitude of the Star Altair, when on the meridian		° 65	′ 4	″ 00	
Refraction in Altitude ... 26″					
Parallax 4	...		0	22	
*'s True Altitude		65	4	22	
Polar Distance		90	0	00	
Zenith Distance		24	55	38	N.
Corrected Declination		8	23	19	N.
Latitude		33	18	57	N.

CHAPTER XXVI.

EXCURSION TO THE RUINS OF CTESIPHON AND SELEUCIA.

August.—My strength being now somewhat restored, and the thermometer, which had been 115° at midnight, having now fallen to that standard in the day, I benefited by my convalescence, to make a short excursion to the ruins of Ctesiphon and Seleucia before I set out on my longer journey to the East.

It was at sun-rise on the morning of the 20th that I left the southern gate of Bagdad, on the east of the river, accompanied by the same Koord horseman of Mr. Rich, who had before gone with me to Hillah and the ruins of Babylon.

Our road lay over a level plain of fine light soil, apparently not long since watered and cultivated, but now lying waste; and our

CHAPTER XIII.

GATES OF THE CITY,

AS SEEN FROM THE INTERIOR.

course across it was generally south-east, inclining southerly. In our way we met many parties of Arabs, and droves of asses laden with heath and brush-wood, which is used as fuel by all classes in Bagdad; most of the men who accompanied these were strongly armed, which gave us unfavourable impressions of the state of the road.

After passing some few enclosures of garden-land and date-trees, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, which we now had on our right, we came in about an hour to an eastern bend of the river. The banks were high and on a steep slope, the stream narrow, and its current moving at the ordinary rate of about three miles per hour. A fine north-west breeze had already began to ruffle its surface, yet the water continued tolerably clear; and on it were now descending some of the circular wicker-work boats from Bagdad, driven by the mere force of the current, and steered by paddles, while two larger craft were ascending against the stream, by a large square-sail, braced sharp to the wind.

In about an hour and half from hence, continuing the same course, we reached the banks of the river Diala, flowing gently from the

north-east towards the Tigris. There had been a bridge of boats here, which was very recently passable; but it was now broken up, and several of the boats, which were hauled up on the mud for repair, still lay there untouched. The stream was too deep to be fordable, and it was thought dangerous to attempt swimming the horses across, as its soft bottom of mud yielded so easily to the animals' weight, that if they once touched the bottom, it would be difficult to extricate them; we were, therefore, drawn across in an open-sterned boat, exactly like those used in traversing the Euphrates at Bir.

The Diala appeared to be about half the breadth of the Tigris, into which it discharges; its banks were steep, its waters clear and sweet, and its current moving at a slow rate, not exceeding two miles per hour. Fishes are found in this river, called, in Arabic, "Biz;" they are each large enough to form a good load for an ass; but I know of no fish in European waters to which they can be compared. They are taken to Bagdad, and sold at a moderate rate per fish, considering their immense size; but they are not esteemed by the rich, and are consequently consumed chiefly by the poorer

classes. The distance from Bagdad to this passage of the Diala is from eight to nine miles; though, as the sun grew high, we could not perceive the city itself. The lofty palace of Kosroes, at Modain, upon the site of the ancient Ctesiphon, was visible to us, however, immediately after our crossing this river, looking exceedingly large, through the refracting atmosphere of the southern horizon, above the even line of which it towered as the most conspicuous object any where to be seen around us. It looked from hence much larger than Westminster Abbey, when seen from a similar distance; and, in its general outline, it resembled that building very nearly, excepting only in its having no towers. The great cathedral of the Crusaders, still standing at the ancient Orthosia on the coast of Syria, is a perfect model of it in general appearance, as that building is seen when approaching from the southward, although there is no one feature of resemblance between these edifices in detail.

On the northern bank of the Diala were some grass huts, inhabited by a few families, who earn their living by transporting travellers across the river; and to the westward,

near the Tigris, were a few scattered tents of Arab shepherds. On the southern bank, a few date-trees were seen; but, besides these, no other signs of fertility or cultivation appeared.

From the moment of our arrival on the edge of this stream, my attention had been particularly arrested by the appearance of large and lofty mounds to the eastward, and not more than five miles from the southern bank of the river. In size and form, they resembled those of the palace at Babylon, and the temptation to visit them was very strong; but my companion, who was certainly not deficient in personal courage, would not listen to such a deviation from our road. Indeed, from the information given by the boatman who conveyed us across, the whole of the country hereabout was most unsafe, being scoured by a mixed race of marauders, including Koords, Persians, and Arabs, who seemed to unite in their mixed community only the bad qualities of each of their separate classes.

We could learn no other name for these mounds than the common appellation of "Tal," or hillock; and my informants were

quite at a loss to understand the motive of my inquiries. This was a double disappointment to me, as, from the moment of our perceiving these mounds, upon an otherwise bare and level plain, I felt convinced that they were formed from the wreck of earlier days.

In a Dissertation on the Royal Road from Sardis to Susa, the author, after enumerating the Tigris, and the Greater and Lesser Zab, as three of the rivers to be crossed in the way, states the fourth to be the Gyndes, which was formerly divided by Cyrus into three hundred and sixty channels, in order to revenge himself on it for the death of one of the sacred horses, which was carried away by its stream. But this, as Major Rennel observes, is unquestionably intended for the Diala of modern geography, which has its source in the same country with the Zab. It appears that Herodotus, or Aristagoras, whose description he is quoting, has confounded these rivers; as the Mendeli appears to be the Gyndes divided by Cyrus; and the Diala, a distinct stream, lying wide of its direction, and being generally deeper.

This last is called by Rennel, in his Map of the environs of Babylon, the Median Choaspes,

to distinguish it from the Susian Choaspes, to the use of whose waters the Kings of Persia were restricted, as they never drank of any other, even in their distant expeditions. But it is known also in antiquity by other names, as the Torna and Delas, which last approaches nearly to its present name of Diala, by which it is known both in modern maps and in the country itself.

The site of Sitace, which is given in Rennel's map as near the discharge of the Diala into the Tigris, had also excited my inquiries after names or ruins on the opposite side of the river, but without any satisfactory results, as the people of the country themselves know little either of positions, names, or remains, and, if possible, care still less.

Xenophon, says M. D'Anville, saw this city while it was yet large, populous, and flourishing, and places it at fifteen stadia on this side of the Tigris, before passing that stream over a bridge of thirty-seven boats. Ptolemy, he adds, is wrong in placing this city and the country of the Sitacene, to which it gave its name, beyond the Tigris; and Pliny, he continues, is guilty of the same error, in speaking of Opis under the name of Antiocha, when he

says, "Sitace Græcorum ab ortu est." But, perhaps, D'Anville himself is scarcely less in error when he says of Sitace, "Texeira passed over a mound of ruins, which occupies the place of that city, at the distance of five or six hours' journey, after departing from Bagdad. It is that which is called Tal Akkarkûf, or the Hill of Karkûf, otherwise Karkûpat, in adding to it the name of Nimrod, from an opinion entertained that this city was constructed by him."*

In a paper on the Monarchy of Nineveh, presented to the Royal Academy of France, by the President de Brosses, the author, when speaking of the four cities built by Nimrod, in the land of Shinar, says, "The city of Achad, or Arcad, was built, according to the opinion of Bochart, on the banks of the river of Argad, which, by the testimony of Ctesias, washed the walls of Sitace, a city situated on the *east* of the Tigris, between Susa and Ctesiphon, which induced him to believe that Sitace was the same city of which Nimrod was the founder."†

The data on which Major Rennel has fixed

* D'Anville, p. 100.

† Memoires de l'Academie Royale, tome xxvii. p. 31.

this city of Sitace in his map, is not indeed apparent. When speaking of the error of Herodotus, in placing the city of Opis below the confluence of the Tigris and Gyndes, which, from the description given by Aristagoras, answers to the Diala, and is meant by him for that river, though the true Gyndes is thought to be the present Mendeli, the English geographer says, "Now, according to the history of the retreat of the Ten Thousand, Opis cannot stand so low, even as the mouth of the Diala, for it was not less than twenty parasangas above Sitace, which city appears pretty clearly to have stood *above* the mouth of the Diala, since the Greeks did not cross it in their way."*

In the map of the environs of Babylon there referred to, the site of this city is placed immediately *opposite* the discharge of the Diala into the Tigris; but, though the data for assigning to it such a position may fully justify the geographer, I could hear of neither names nor ruins in that direction, which seemed to mark its remains. In this quarter of the globe, however, so long and so often the theatre on

* Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus.—Asia, p. 202.

which the empire of the world has been contended for, between the ambitious sovereigns of the east and west, it has been the fate of so many cities to be swept away, without leaving a trace of their former greatness, that the traveller learns, upon a succession of such numerous instances as occur throughout his way, no longer to feel disappointment or wonder at not identifying their remains, however much it may be a subject of regret.

From the banks of the Diala, we bent our course more southerly, as the lofty palace of Chosroes bore from us due south by east; and continuing in nearly this direction for about an hour, we came again to an eastern bend of the Tigris. There was, in the middle of the stream, a large bank, formed from the deposit of the river and looking, from its light colour, like sand, but composed of pure earth. The broadest arm of the Tigris flowed to the west of this, and that to the east was but barely of sufficient breadth to characterize the bank as an island: the general size and rate of the stream seemed just as we had before observed it at Bagdad.

The former part of our road had been over a bare plain, which still retained marks of

recent cultivation; but we now came on a ground covered with a heath, thickly spread, and sending forth a highly aromatic odour.* It is of a dark-green hue, and produces a fruit like a large bean, and of a light purple colour. It was this heath, with which were laden the droves of asses, that we had met going to the Bagdad market, and the same production is found more or less along the banks of the Tigris, from Eski Mousul, all the way to this place.

In about an hour from hence, and little more than two after our crossing the Diala, we reached the mounds of Ctesiphon. These were of a moderate height, a light colour, and strewed over with fragments of broken pottery, the invariable marks of former population. They appeared to take a wide semicircular range to the eastward, and their continued line and form marked the circuit of the city-walls. I should have gladly made the circuit of these mounds, for the purpose of obtaining a more correct idea of the extent and shape of the city they enclosed; but I was

* The passage from Xenophon, in which he alludes to this peculiarity of Mesopotamia, has been already referred to in a former place.

still so imperfectly recovered from my late illness, that even this short ride had greatly fatigued me, and as noon was approaching, the sun had already grown oppressively hot, the thermometer standing at 108°.

The outer surface of the mounds made them appear as mere heaps of earth, long exposed to the atmosphere; but we were assured, by those well acquainted with all the local features of the place, that on digging into the mounds, a masonry of unburnt bricks was found, with layers of reed between them, as in the ruins at Akkerkoof, and the mound of Makloobe at Babylon. The extent of the semi-circle formed by these heaps, appeared to be nearly two miles. The area of the city, into which we now descended, had but few mounds throughout its whole extent, and these were small and isolated; the space was chiefly covered with the thick heath already described, which formed a cover for partridges, hares, and gazelles, of each of which we saw considerable numbers.

After traversing a space within the walls, strewed with fragments of burnt brick and pottery, we came, in about half an hour, to the Tomb of Selman Pauk, which is within a

short distance of the ruined Palace of Chosroes. Here, therefore, we turned in, to obtain shelter from the sun, and repose; our whole ride having occupied about five hours, and the distance from Bagdad being little more than fifteen English miles. We found here a very comfortable and secure retreat, within a high walled enclosure of about a hundred paces square, in the centre of which rose the tomb of the celebrated favourite of Mohammed.

This Selman Pauk, or Selman the Pure, was a Persian barber, who, from the fire-worship of his ancestors, became a convert to Islam, under the persuasive eloquence of the great Prophet of Medina himself; and, after a life of fidelity to the cause he had embraced, was buried here in his native city of Modain. The memory of this beloved companion of the great head of their faith is held in great respect by all the Mohammedans of the country; for, besides the annual feast of the barbers of Bagdad, who, in the month of April, visit his tomb as that of a patron saint, there are others who come to it on pilgrimage at all seasons of the year.

At the period of my being here, there were two travellers from Shooster, who had halted

in their way to Bagdad, to pay their devotions at this shrine. As I found no difficulty in mixing freely with the people of the country, we entered into the sepulchre together. I kissed as frequently, though apparently not with the same fervour, as my fellow-pilgrims, the side posts of the doors, now stained by the impressions of human hands, dipped in a deep red colour, such as is often seen on the walls and entrances to Hindoo pagodas. We placed our foreheads in reverence on the door, and after making a circumambulation round the Tomb three times, after the manner of the Pradikshina of the Hindoos, kissing the corners and sides of it in our course, the Shooster pilgrims placed themselves beside each other, with their faces towards the Caaba of Mecca, for prayer. They were much astonished at my not joining them, and when their devotions were over, a conversation on this subject ensued. My having shewn as great a veneration as themselves for the sepulchre of the sainted favourite of the Prophet was a proof, in their minds, that I was not a Wahābee, because, a contempt for the tombs of departed mortals is one of the leading features of their reforming creed. But when I expressed my be-

lief, that prayer offered up to the great Creator of the Universe could not be more acceptable from one spot than from another, provided the heart was equally pure, they were inclined to think me half a convert to Wahābeeism. Strictly in unison as this doctrine is with that of the Koran, and indeed with the practice of its believers in general, they still contended that there was a peculiar merit in pilgrimages to holy tombs, and in prayers offered up from them; though they did not presume to deny the omnipresence of the Deity, and the fitness of every part of the great Temple of Nature, for the duty of pouring out the heart to its almighty Author.

The edifice erected over the tomb of Selman the Pure, or Suliman, as he is sometimes inaccurately called, consists of one domed sanctuary, with a vaulted piazza, and other apartments attached to it. The sanctuary itself is about fifteen paces square at the base, and has its interior walls faced with coloured tiles. Over this, at the height of about twenty feet, is an octagonal stage, receding within the square, and having its inner surface laid out in Arabic work of small pointed niches, as at

the tomb of Zobeida in the old Bagdad of the Caliphs, and highly ornamented by painting and devices in the Persian style. The whole is crowned by a plain but well-proportioned dome, forming altogether a height of from sixty to seventy feet, and is well lighted by open windows at the base of the dome, and coloured glass ones near the octagonal stage of the centre.

The tomb itself rose in the centre of this sanctuary, and was nearly an oblong square, railed-in by a neat palisade. On the head of it stood a singular tripod, the upper part of which was formed of a solid piece of wood, in shape nearly like a human head, and exactly resembling an European barber's block, placed on a stand of three legs. It was half hidden from profane view, by an ample veil of green gauze, worked with stars of gold; and I should have thought it had some allusion to the occupation of the saint during his life-time, and was an offering from the pilgrims of the same profession, who make their yearly visit to his shrine; but, as far as I have seen, the Oriental barbers never use such blocks, nor is it probable that they ever did so, unless when the monstrous wigs of the Sassanian monarchs,

such as they are seen on the coins and medals of that dynasty, were in general fashion in this part of Persia, and especially in their own capital of Ctesiphon, of which the saint thus honoured was himself a native.*

When we had come out from the tomb to repose in the shade and free air of the vaulted passage that leads to it, I made inquiries of these Shooster pilgrims regarding the ruins of the ancient Susiana of the Persian monarchs, and the "Shushan the palace" of the Scriptures, which are reported still to exist at Shooster, the place of their residence. Their replies, however, led to no satisfactory results. They were neither aware that this had been the seat of the ancient Persian sovereigns, nor the scene of many portions of sacred as well as profane history, though they spoke of the tomb of Daniel as being still at Shooster, and visited equally by Moslems, Christians, and Jews. Josephus, in his eulogies on the pro-

* It is remarkable that wigs and other ponderous artificial coverings for the head should have grown so early into fashion. They are seen on all the ancient sculptures of Persepolis, in most of the temples of Egypt, and on the heads of the two colossal statues of Memnon and Osymandyas at Thebes.

phet Daniel, attributes to him, among other branches of knowledge, a superior skill in architecture, and names, as an example, a famous edifice of his construction at Susa. This building, says he, was constructed in the form of a castle, and the execution of it was excellent. He says, also, that the tombs of the Parthian and Persian kings were in this castle.* The roads from Shooster to Bagdad were described as being highly dangerous, and the distance to be twenty caravan days' journey, the country between these cities being traversed by the Arabs of Lauristān.

By the violence of a north-west gale, which blew with such fury, as to threaten the rooting-up of the few date-trees that were here,† the heat of the day was much tempered, and the thermometer at three P. M. stood only at 113° in the shade. We still remained within the enclosure, however, until this degree of heat had subsided; and about two hours before

* Memoires de l'Academie Royale, tome xxix. p. 143.

† Cypress-trees were said formerly to have abounded in Babylonia, but Alexander ordered them to be cut down, and used in building the fleet with which he intended to explore and conquer the coasts of Arabia, in the Persian Gulf.—*Arrian*, book vii. chap. 19.

sun-set, we went out to see the large ruin, which forms the principal object of attention at the place. This is situated about seven hundred paces to the south of the Tomb of Selman Pauk, and presents the remains of a large edifice, called, by the people, Tauk Kesra, or the Arch of Kesra. It is composed of two wings, and one large central hall, extending all the depth of the building. Its front is nearly perfect, being about two hundred and sixty feet in length, and upwards of a hundred feet in height. Of this front, the great arched hall occupies the centre, its entrance being of an equal height and breadth with the hall itself. The arch is thus about ninety feet in breadth, and, rising above the general line of the front, is at least a hundred and twenty feet high, while its depth is at least equal to its height.

The wings leading out on each side of the central arch to extend the front of the building, are now merely thick walls, but these had originally apartments behind them, as may be seen from undoubted marks that remain, as well as from two side-doors leading from thence into the great central hall. A similar door led out of the back of this hall also, but

the large arched entrance of the front must have been always open, and it is therefore probable that the hall was only used as a receiving-room of state on ceremonial occasions.

The walls, which form these wings in the line of the front, were built on the inclined slope, being about twenty feet thick at the base, and only ten at the summit. The walls of the great hall seem also much thicker below than above; and, in the vaulted roof, hollow tubes, perhaps of earthenware or pottery, have been observed in the masonry, bending with the arched form of the work, as well as large beams of wood, still shewing their ends in the wall near the arch of entrance in front.

The masonry is altogether of burnt bricks, of the size, form, and composition of those seen in the ruins of Babylon; and among them I noticed several with a green vitrification on their outer surface, like those found at Babylon and Akkerkoof, but I observed none with writing or impressions of any kind upon them. The cement is white lime, and the layers much thicker than is seen in any of the burnt brick edifices at Babylon, approaching nearer to the style of the Greek and Roman masonry found among the ruins of Alexandria,

where the layers of lime are almost as thick as the bricks themselves; while at Babylon, either at the Birs, the Kassr, or Al Hheimar, the cement is scarcely perceptible. The symmetry of the work here is inferior, however, both to these and to the fine fragments of brick-masonry of the age of the Caliphs, still remaining at Bagdad.

The wings have their front divided into two stories, the lower one of which has large arched recesses, and an arched door-way, each separated from the other by double convex pilasters, or semicolumns, going up nearly half the height of the building, and including, between their divisions, separate compartments of three small recesses each, standing respectively over the larger arched recesses, and arched door-way below. In the second story are double arched recesses, or two in one compartment, divided from each other by short pilasters, and every pair separated by a longer pilaster reaching to the summit of the building. Next follow, in the third story, compartments of three small concave niches, as if designed for shell or fan tops, each divided from the other by the long pilasters going to the top. And last of all, in the fifth story, is

a continued line of still smaller arched niches, divided from each other by small double pilasters, the tops of which are now broken.

Both these wings are similar in their general design, though not perfectly uniform; but the great extent of the whole front, with the broad and lofty arch of its centre, and the profusion of recesses and pilasters on each side, must have produced an imposing appearance, when the edifice was perfect; more particularly, if the front was once coated, as tradition states it to have been, with white marble, a material of too much value to remain long in its place, after the desertion of the city.

The arches of the building are all of the Roman form, and the architecture of the same style, though far from chaste. The pointed arch is nowhere seen throughout the whole of the pile, but a pyramidal termination is given to some long narrow niches of the front, and the pilasters are without pedestals or capitals.

The front of the building, though facing immediately towards the Tigris, lies due east by compass, the stream winding here so exceedingly, that this edifice, though standing

on the *west* of that portion of the river flowing before it, and facing the *east*, is yet on the *eastern* bank of the Tigris in its general course.

We ascended some mounds, about a hundred yards to the south of the palace, which, like those we had before seen, were formed of a light earth, strewed over with pottery, and appeared to mark the site of some range of buildings now destroyed. From its summit, we could see the continuation of the semicircular mounds which mark the line of the city-walls, and I was confirmed in my former opinion, regarding their extent. We could perceive from hence too the still higher mounds which occupied the site of Seleucia on the opposite side of the river,* while the stream itself was here so serpentine, that the

* Seleucus, who was a great protector of the Jews, and after whom this city was called, founded many others of the same name; though this Babylonian Seleucia on the Tigris was the chief of them all. "Seleucus built many other cities both in the Greater and Lesser Asia:† sixteen of which he called Antioch, from the name of Antiochus his father; nine Seleucia, from his own name; six Laodicea, from the name of Laodice his mother; three Apamea, from Apama his first wife; and one Stratonicea, from Stratonice

† Appianus in Syriacis, p. 201. Editionis Tollianæ.

boats which were going *up* by it to Bagdad were steering south-south-west through one reach, and north-west through another above it.

his last wife; in all which he* planted the Jews, giving them equal privileges and immunities with the Greeks and Macedonians, especially at Antioch in Syria; where they settled in great numbers, and became almost as considerable a part of that city, as they were at Alexandria. And from hence it was that the Jews became dispersed all over Syria, and the Lesser Asia. In the eastern countries beyond the Euphrates, they had been settled before, ever since the Assyrian and Babylon captivities, and there multiplied in great numbers. But it was Seleucus Nicator that first gave them settlements in those provinces of Asia, which are on this side the Euphrates. For they having been very faithful and serviceable to him in his wars, and other trusts and interests, he for this reason gave them these privileges through all the cities which he built. But it seems most likely, that they were the Babylonish Jews that first engaged him to be thus favourable to this people. For the Jews of Palestine, being under Ptolemy, were not in capacity to be serviceable to him. But Babylon being the place where he laid the first foundations of his power, and the Jews in those parts being as numerous as the Jews of Palestine, if not more, it is most likely that they unanimously adhered to his interest, and were the prime strength that he had for the advancement of it, and that for this reason he ever after shewed so much favour to them; and it is scarce probable, that any thing less than this could be a sufficient cause to procure such great privileges from him, as he afterwards gave

* Josephus Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3. et contra Apionem, lib. 2. Eusebius in Chronico.

I should have gone across from hence by one of these boats, to the site of Seleucia, had I not been previously assured by Mr. Rich that there was nothing there to reward the search. A Babylonian statue was seen by him far in the Desert, on that side; but it required a person to know the exact spot on which it lay, to give any hope of finding it again. Boats were said to be sometimes five days in ascending against the stream, from this place to Bagdad, owing to the tortuous course of the river between them. Before we quitted this spot, I noted the bearings of some of the principal objects in sight,* and observed that every part of the river's banks, as far as we could see them, was destitute of wood.

The most remote antiquity assigned to this

to all of that nation."—*Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament*, pp. 814, 815.

* Mounds of Seleucia, extending from S. E. by E. ½ E. to S. E. ½ S. about a mile.

Direction of the Tigris going toward Bagdad, S. S. W. for nearly five miles.

Direction of another upper reach of the river, E. but bearing from us, N. W. only one mile distant, the interval forming a wide curve.

Some tall date-trees on the Diala, N. N. W. distant about six miles.

place is that of the age of Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord, of whom it is said, "And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar.*" It is conceived by some antiquaries, and particularly by M. de Brosses, one of the Presidents of the Royal Academy of France, already quoted, that the Calneh here spoken of stood on the site of Ctesiphon.

In a paper of this writer, presented to that Academy, he says, "The name of Chalné, (which is construed *habitaculum perfectum*,) the fourth city founded by Nimrod, seems to be found in that of Chalonite, a district of Babylonia on the east of the Tigris. This induces a very general opinion that Chalné is Ctesiphon, originally the capital of that province, and since the metropolis of all the Parthian empire, and the winter residence of their kings." He adds, that according to the opinion of Abulpharage, these cities of Erec, Acchad, and Chalné, which he names Chalya, were Roha, Nisibis, and Madyen, or Orfah, Nisibeen, and Modain.† Sir Walter Raleigh, treats also of the position of these cities, but

* Genesis, c. x. v. 10.

† Memoires de l'Academie Royale, tome xxvii. p. 31.

without throwing much light on the subject.*

Authorities, however, are more certain, for the position of Seleucia which stood near the same spot, along the western bank of the Tigris, and was constructed chiefly out of the ruins of the ancient Babylon. The foundation of this city is thought indeed to have been undertaken for the express purpose of completing the ruin and desertion of this enormous capital of the East, after its rebellion against Darius Hystaspes, and the reduction of its walls by that sovereign.†

* History of the World.—c. i. 10—2.

† "About this time,† (Anno 293, Ptolemy Soter 12,) Seleucus built Seleucia on the Tigris, at the distance of forty miles from Babylon. It was placed on the western side of that river, over against the place where now Bagdad stands, on the eastern side, which soon grew to be a very great city. For Pliny‡ tells us, it had in it six hundred thousand inhabitants, and there are not much above an hundred thousand more in London, which is now (waving the fabulous account which is given of Nankin in China) beyond all dispute the biggest city in the world. For by reason of the breaking down of the banks of the Euphrates, the country near Babylon being drowned, and the branch of that river, which passed through the middle of the city, being shallowed and rendered unnavigable, this made the situation of Babylon by this time so very inconvenient, that

† Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 738 et 743. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 26. ‡ Ibidem.

M. D'Anville, in his Memoir on the Euphrates and the Tigris, says, the intention of the first of the Seleucida was to oppose to

when this new city was built, it soon drained the other of all its inhabitants. For it being situated much more eommodiously, and by the founder made the metropolis of all the provinees of his empire beyond the Euphrates, and the place of his residenee, whenever he came into those parts, in the same manner as Antioch was for the other provinces whieh were on this side that river: for the sake of these advantages, the Babylonians in great numbers left their old habitations, and floeked to Seleueia. And besides Seleueus having called this eity by his own name, and designed it for an eminent monument thereof in after ages, gave it many privileges above the other eities of the East, the better to make it answer this purpose; and these were a farther invitation to the Babylonians to transplant themselves to it. And by these means, in a short time after the building of Seleueia, Babylon became wholly desolated, so that nothing was left remaining of it but its walls. And therefore *Pliny tells us, 'That it was exhausted of its inhabitants, and brought to desolation by the neighbourhood of Seleucia on the Tigris, which Seleueus Nicator built there on purpose for this end.' And † Strabo saith the same, as doth also Pausanias, in his Areadics, where he tells us, 'That Babylon, once the greatest city that the sun ever saw, had, in his time, (i. e. ‡ about the middle of the seeond century,) nothing left but its walls."—*Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament*, pp. 808, 809.

* Lib. vi. cap. 26. † Lib. xvi. p. 738.

‡ For he lived in the time of Adrian and Antonimus Pius. See Vossius de Historicis Græcis, lib. ii. cap. 14.

Babylon, a city that should be purely Greek, "Macedonum moris," in the words of Pliny, with the privilege of being free, "sui juris." The same author reports its population to have been considerable; and there is no doubt, but that its situation in the most fertile part of the east, "solum orientis fertilissimum," as Pliny expresses it, contributed much to its prosperity. It sustained its consequence for five hundred years after its termination, or till the time of that author himself.*

The site of this city was on the west bank of the Tigris, in the neighbourhood of a place still more ancient, called Coxé, or Coche, at the mouth of a canal leading from the Euphrates to the Tigris, "in confluente Euphrates, fossa perducte atque Tigris," says

* Seleucia was built by Seleucus Nicator, forty miles from Babylon, at a point of the confluence of the Euphrates with the Tigris, by a canal. There were six hundred thousand citizens here at one time, and all the commerce and wealth of Babylon had flown into it. The territory in which it stood was called Babylonia; but it was itself a free state, and the people lived after the laws and manners of the Macedonians. The form of the walls was said to resemble an eagle spreading her wings, and the soil around it was thought the most fertile in the East."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. vi. c. 26.

Pliny; and in another place, "circa Seleuciam præfluenti infusus Tigri." This canal is known by the name of Nahar Malka, "quod significat fluvius regium." We have this precise indication of the site of Seleucia, that the discharge of the Nahar Malka into the Tigris ought to be *above* that city; because, in following the route which led into the provinces of the Parthian empire, as traced out by Isidore, of Charac, in Stathmis Parthicis, it is necessary to cross the canal before entering into Seleucia.*

After an examination of the distance assigned by the ancient writers, between Seleucia and Babylon, the reported positions of which correspond nearly with that of their actual remains, he continues to say, Ctesiphon was the second of two cities, of which the grandeur contributed to the progressive annihilation of Babylon,† placed opposite to

* D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 117 et seq. Paris, 1775. 4to.

† "The Parthians, in order to do by Seleucia as the Greeks who built that place, had done by Babylon, built the city Ctesiphon, within three miles of it, in the track called Chalonitis, in order to dispeople and impoverish it, though it is now the head city of the kingdom."—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. vi. c. 26.

each other on the banks of the Tigris; the power which Seleucia seems to have preserved for several centuries after the establishment of the Parthians, was a sufficient reason for these last to seek to degrade that which hurt their pride, with the same feeling as Seleucia herself had strove to lessen the importance of Babylon.* The manner in which Pliny ex-

* "It must be acknowledged," says Dr. Prideaux, "that there is mention made of Babylon as of a city standing long after the time, where I have placed its desolation, as † in Lucan, ‡ Philostratus, and others. But in all those authors, and wherever else we find Babylon spoken of asa city in being after the time of Seleucus Nicator, it must be understood,§ not of old Babylon on the Euphrates, but of Seleucia on the Tigris. For as that succeeded in the dignity and grandeur of old Babylon, so also did it in its name. At first it was called Seleucia Babylonia, that is, the Babylonic Seleucia, or Seleucia of the province of Babylon, to

† Lib. i. v. 10.

‡ Lib. i. c. 17, 18, 19.

§ Plutarch indeed, in the life of Crassus, speaks of Babylon and Seleucia, as of two distinct cities then in being. For, in a political remark, he reckons it as a great error in Crassus, that in his first irruption into Mesopotamia, he had not directly marched on to Babylon and Seleucia, and seized those two cities. And Appian, in his Parthics, says the same thing. But Plutarch was mistaken herein, taking for two cities then in being, what were no more than two names then given one and the same place, that is Seleucia. For as to Old Babylon, it appears, from the authors I have mentioned, that it was desolated long before the time of Crassus. And as to Appian, he doth no more than recite the opinion of Plutarch; for he writes word for word after him as to this matter.

plains himself is perfectly consistent with this, "Invicem ad hanc exhauriendam Ctesiphontem in Chalonitide condidere Parthi;" and one can hardly suppose that they had esta-

distinguish it from the other Seleucias which were elsewhere, and after that * Babylonia simply, and at † length Babylon. That Lucan, by his Babylon, in the first book of his Pharsalia, means none other than Seleucia, or the New Babylon, is plain. For he there speaks of it as the metropolis of the Parthian kingdom, where the trophies of Crassus were hung up after the vanquishing of the Romans at Carrhæ, which can be understood only of the Seleucian or New Babylon, and not of the Old. For that new Babylon only was the seat of the Parthian kings, but the old Babylon never. And in another place, where he makes mention of this Babylon, (i. e. book vi. v. 50.) he describes it as surrounded by the Tigris, in the same manner as Antioch was by the Orontes: but it was the Seleucian or the New Babylon, and not the Old, that stood upon the Tigris. And as to Philostratus, when he brings his Apollonius (the Don Quixote of his romance) to the royal seat of the Parthian king, which was at that time at Seleucia, then called Babylon, he was led by that name into this gross blunder, as to mistake it for the Old Babylon, and therefore ‡ in the describing of it he gives us the same description which he found given of Old Babylon in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and other writers."—*Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament*, pp. 811—813.

* Plin. lib. vi. cap. 26.

† Stephanus Byzantinus in Βαβυλών.

‡ Lib. i. cap. 18.

blished their residence at Ctesiphon before the decline of Seleucia.*

In the expedition of Trajan, who quitted Rome in the year 112 of the Christian era, and Antioch in 114, after subduing Edessa, Osrhoene, Batnes, Nisibis, and Singāra, traversing the Tigris, on a bridge constructed under his own eye, and taking possession of Adiabene, and Gaugamela or Arbela, he laid siege to Ctesiphon and Seleucia. Chosroes was then, it was said, occupied in quelling a revolt of his eastern provinces, so that these cities soon surrendered to Trajan, with all the neighbouring country. The Roman emperor then went down to the island of Mesene, situated between two branches of the Tigris and Euphrates, where he passed the winters of the years 116 and 117. After this, he returned again to Ctesiphon, to quell a revolt of the provinces which he had so recently subdued. The termination of this expedition, by his unsuccessful wars against the Arabs, his return to Italy, and his death, of a disease brought on by the campaign in the end of the same year, are well known.

Nothing can be more accurate than the ac-

* D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 120.

tual and relative positions of these celebrated cities of Ctesiphon and Seleucia, as well as the delineation of the winding course of the Tigris between them, given in Major Rennel's map of the environs of Babylon, accompanying his Memoir on the ruins of that city, in the Illustrations of the Geography of Herodotus. D'Anville says, there is no longer any doubt regarding Ctesiphon and Seleucia, which are both nearly annihilated, though reunited at one period under the name of Madain, which, in grammatical language, is "plurale factum," being derived from Medineh, a word signifying simply a city, in the Arabic language.*

Of the succession of Madain to the two cities, on whose ruins it was built, we have this notice in the History of the Sassanides, translated from the Persian of Mirkhond, by M. Silvester de Sacy. After the wars of Shapour against the Arabs and the Greeks combined under one of the Constantines, and his recovery of Nisibeen, where he placed a colony of twelve thousand Persians, it is said, that he returned to his country, and being arrived safe in Irāk, he laid the foundations of the city of Madain, which was completed in the space

* D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 119.

of a year. This prince fixed his court here, and drew around him all the grandees of Persia; and after passing seventy-two years on the throne, ended his days there.* After the death of Yezderdja, the third sovereign from Shapour, one of the descendants of Ardeschir was chosen to succeed him. He was named Khosrou, which name the Arabs have written Kesra, and being conducted to Madain, was crowned there.† In the reign of this Kesra, or Nouschirvan the Just, as he was sometimes called, there arose one Mazda, the head of a sect, who preached community of women, and made it a great merit to encourage the sexual union of the nearest relations. It was one of the first acts of this sovereign's reign to destroy the leader of this sect, with all his adherents; and a remembrance of this fact, with the general fame of his actions during life, occasioned one of the Eastern poets to exclaim, on seeing his palace yet undemolished, "Behold the recompense of an irreproachable conduct, since time has not been able to destroy the palace of Kesra!"‡

This same Nouschirvan had his fame ex-

* De Sacy's Memoires, p. 316. † Ibid. p. 329.
‡ Ibid. p. 360.

tended so far, according to the Persian historian, that the kings of the East came to do him reverence. Among the enumeration of presents sent to him from distant lands, are some romantic stories, in the true Oriental style, of palaces of gold, paved with pearls—harems of a thousand virgins, all daughters of royalty, and some supremely beautiful, which decked the bed of the Chinese monarch—castles of gold, whose gates were of precious stones—and lovely girls, whose silken eyelashes were so long as to repose upon their cheeks, devoted to the pleasures of the kings of Indoustan. The conclusion of this pompous display may, however, be more accurate, when it is said, it was during the reign of Nouschirvan, that the book entitled Colaila and Dinna was brought from India into Persia, as well as the game of chess; and a certain black dye, named Hindi, which, being applied to white hairs, stains them of a black colour even to the roots, and this so perfectly, that it is impossible to distinguish them from being originally of that colour.*

That Chosroes, to whom the erection of

* Memoires et Histoires de Sassanides, par M. Silvestre de Sacy, p. 374.

this palace at Madain is attributed, was master of great wealth, there can be little doubt; and it would appear that a commercial intercourse with India on the east, and Europe on the west, for which the central situation of his capital was admirably adapted, had contributed as powerfully to the augmentation of his treasures, as the regular tribute of his empire. Gibbon enumerates the riches deposited in the palace of Dastagherd, the favourite retreat of the Persian king; and we learn from Cedrenus,* that when Heraclius sacked this imperial residence, he found in it aloes, aloes-wood, mataxa, silk, thread, pepper, muslins, or muslin garments, without number; sugar, ginger, silk robes woven and embroidered carpets, and bullion. The manufactured articles are also specified among the plunder of Ctesiphon, or Madain,† when Sad, the general of Omar, took this place; and both these instances are quoted to shew, that on the decline of the Roman power, the revived Persian dynasty had the trade of India, through this channel, entirely in their own hands.‡

* Abulfeda, Reiske, p. 70. † p. 418.

‡ Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, vol. ii. Arabia, p. 322, in a note, by Dr. Vincent.

It was sun-set when we returned to our quarters in the enclosure of Selman Pauk's Tomb, where we partook of a supper, the provisions for which we had brought with us from Bagdad, and at which the old Sheikh or Guardian of the Tomb very readily joined us, the continuance of the fast of Ramazān rendering the evening meal a welcome feast to all.

In conversation with the people here, I made many inquiries about a place called "Sebat al Madain," which M. de Sacy says is near to Madain Kesra, and the name of which he conceives to be corrupted from Balashabad, or "the habitation of Balash,"§ but we could learn nothing of such a place or name.

The violence of the gale, which had blown through the day, having now subsided, we slept with much pleasure in the open air, and had a sky of more than usual brilliance, even in this climate, above us, the storm having no doubt purified the atmosphere.

August 21st.—The splendid train which follows the Pleiades was already high above the eastern horizon when we began to prepare for our departure, and the moon had risen

§ Memoires, p. 351.

when we quitted the gate of Ctesiphon on our return to Bagdad. As we quickened our pace during the cool of the morning, we reached the Diala just at sun-rise, where I profited by the opportunity of its emerging from a plain as level as the sea, to take its amplitude by compass, finding it to be at rising, E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. or N. 84° 23′ E. which gives 8° 44′ westerly variation.*

We were detained on the southern bank of the Diala nearly an hour, by the passage of asses laden with heath and fire-wood for Bagdad, before we could get a place in the boat, and joined here a party of fifteen Shooster Arabs, who had a mixture of the Persian character in their dress and appearance. The early hour of the day enabling us to distinguish the minarets of Bagdad and the Palace of Chosroes at Ctesiphon at the same time, I took their bearings from the passage of the Diala.†

		°	′
* True amplitude for Latitude 33° 12′ N. and Sun's Declination of 12° 4′ N.	...	14	21
Complement of Sun's observed Amplitude	...	5	37
Magnetic Variation westerly	...	8	44

† Bagdad N. W. $\frac{3}{4}$ N. ... ... 9 miles.
Tauk Kesra, S. by E. ... ... 7 miles.

After crossing the river, we increased our speed, and entered the gates of Bagdad about seven o'clock, not having been more than two hours actually in motion from Ctesiphon to this place. The whole distance appeared, by the calculation of time and rate of travelling, on going and coming, to be about sixteen miles, which agrees nearly with the position assigned to the site of Madain by the Arabian geographer Edrisi, who places it at fifteen miles below Bagdad. The mouth of the Diala, or the point of its discharge into the Tigris, appeared to be nearer to Bagdad than to Ctesiphon, in the proportion observed in the bearings of these respective objects from the passage of that stream. We reached the British Residency in time to join Mr. Rich and family at breakfast, and met from them the same kind reception and warm interest in the events of the excursion, which had been so cordially evinced before.

CHAPTER XIV.

FURTHER STAY AT BAGDAD.

The short journey of trial which I had just performed, trifling as it was, proved to me that my strength was not yet perfectly re-established. I was, however, impatient to prosecute the remainder of my way, and began to make such preparations and inquiries as were necessary.

The evening of the 23d of August ushered in the Turkish feast of the Bairām, by a discharge of cannon and fire-works, from all parts of the city, though it was absolutely impossible that any one could have yet *seen* the new moon, which is the necessary prelude to the commencement of this feast, and until which, indeed, the fast of Ramazān is not at an end. Two witnesses had solemnly deposed, however, at the seat of justice, before the Cadi,

CHAPTER XIV.

PROCESSION OF THE PASHA,
FROM THE MOSQUE TO THE PALACE.

that they had seen the new crescent, and this was enough to absolve the faithful at large from their fast on the following day, the sun-set being sufficient authority for their breaking it at evening. Many of the more scrupulous Mohammedans require, however, the *sight* of the new orb with their own eyes, before they feel justified in ending their fast; but these, like the "over-righteous" in most countries, are generally in a minority.

On the morning of the 24th, the Pasha, attended by all his officers, went in public state, going part of the way under canopies, and attended with a large retinue of horse and foot guards, music, and a crowd of dependants, to and from the mosque. The whole procession resembled very nearly that described by Benjamin of Tudela, (quoted in a former page,) when he gives an account of the Caliph going publicly to the mosque, on the feast of Bairām, nearly seven hundred years ago, so little do the manners of these people change in the course of many centuries.

The 25th of August was the fête of St. Louis, on which occasion Mr. Rich and Dr. Hine paid their formal visit of ceremony to the Pasha, on the return of the Turkish feast

of Bairām, going to the palace at an early hour in the morning; and I accompanied the secretary, Mr. Bellino, to the Catholic church here, where a mass was to be said for the repose of the soul of Louis the Sixteenth, and "Te Deum" sung for the restoration of the Bourbon family to the French throne. The room was small and crowded; and the service as noisy, as ceremonious, and as irreverently performed, as any thing I had ever witnessed among the Christians of the East, calculated indeed to excite far different feelings than those of devotion.

On our return to the Residency, we heard of a rebellion at Kerkook, in which the Pasha's representative at that place, the Janissary Aga, and sixty of his adherents, were killed, and a large body of mules forcibly seized by the insurgents. The information was brought to the Pasha while Mr. Rich sat with him in his divan, and he received it with apparent indifference, not following it up even by a single question; it being the fashion of the Turks to affect great apathy, as they think it undignified to permit their tranquillity to be disturbed by any human event.

The Pashalic of Bagdad has never been so

unproductive in revenue, or so unprotected against internal commotion, or external attack, as since it has been under the government of its present Pasha. Scarcely any thing is sent from the treasury of the city to Constantinople; so that this frontier town is of little value to the Turks; and the Pasha himself is so poor that he borrows even now the smallest sums. It is thought, therefore, that the Shah Zadé, the eldest son of the King of Persia, who resides at Kermanshah, commands an extensive territory, and is an ambitious young man, may be one day tempted to add Bagdad to his dominions, or perhaps make it his capital; and it is believed, by most persons residing here, that it would fall an easy prey to his arms.

We saw to-day a very singular and curious intaglio, on a dull agate, which was brought for our inspection, and said to have been found at Samara,* on the Tigris, where Jovian arrived after the death of Julian, a little way only up the river, and erroneously called Old Bagdad. On one side was a military trophy, represented in the Roman style, by a body of armour, two shields, a helmet, &c. On the

* See a note on Samara, vol. i. p. 431.

reverse was a figure with a human body and a hawk's, or eagle's, head. In his right hand he held a scourge, or whip; on his left arm was a shield; his body was clothed with armour; beneath his feet, as if forming a continuation of them, were two wavy serpents, with their heads turned outward, to the right and left; and beneath the whole was an upright tortoise. Around each of these were some Greek letters, badly cut, which were unintelligible to us, and the whole, though singularly curious in its device, was of bad execution.

A Persian ambassador, who had recently arrived here from the king at Tabriz, to treat on some affairs with the Pasha of Bagdad, had just gone off on pilgrimage to the celebrated Tomb of Ali, to the south-west of Hillah, and as he was shortly expected back to set out on his return to his sovereign, it was thought that it would be a favourable occasion for me to go under the protection of the same party through Persia to Tehraun, and from thence down to Bushire. These pilgrimages of the Persians are performed with great risk to themselves, and scarcely ever fail to draw forth the hostility of the Arabs on the road, when

the parties are not sufficiently protected for self-defence. Small bodies are constantly interrupted and plundered by the Bedouins west of the Euphrates; and it is not long since that the town of Kerbela was entered by the Wahābees, all its male population that could be seized put to the sword, only women and children spared, and the mosque of the Imam Hossein, so highly reverenced by the Shiahs, stripped of all its treasures.*

When the Persians go from hence through the country of Nedjed, on their pilgrimage to Mecca, the protection or permission of the Wahābees is necessary to be purchased before they set out. As this is always an affair of personal treaty, skilful and influential individuals are generally employed for that purpose. It happened, during the last year, that on an application being made to the chief, from the pilgrims waiting here, for a free passage, the answer returned to them by the hands of the Wahābee messenger was, that they would be suffered to go through the country in safety on the usual terms, on the condition that they were to come through Derÿa, where the chief

* See an account of this massacre and plunder, vol. i. p. 243.

of the Wahābees then resided. Either from conceiving this demand to be too humiliating to be complied with, or from some other motive, the Wahābee messenger who brought it was beaten and sent back by the Persians to his tent. They soon afterwards set out with the determination to go straight through the country, without turning to the right or left. They were met, however, by a large body of the Wahābees, whose messenger they had so ill-treated; many were killed, still more wounded, and the rest obliged to go down to Derÿa, where some in despair gave up their pilgrimage together, and came back again to Bagdad, while others remained at Derÿa subject to daily persecution, in order to join the first caravan from thence to Mecca for the next Hadj.

Derÿa is said to be a large town, seated on a mountain, like Mardin, which it resembles in form, size, population, and manner of building; it lies to the south of the direct road from hence to Mecca. The surrounding country is generally desert, though there are some fertile spots and many date-trees, and there is no want of caravanserais or water in the way. In his Dissertation on the Commerce

of Arabia, Dr. Vincent says, " After the con quest of Persia by the Mohammedans, a road was made across the whole of the peninsula from Mecca to Kufa, the old city at which the Kufic character was completed, and whose ruins, among which are some very old Arabic buildings, still exist, between Mesjed Ali and the Euphrates. This road was reported to have been seven hundred miles long, marked out by distances, and provided with caravanserais and other accommodations for travellers. Into this road fell the route from Basra and from El Khatif or Gerrha."* Abulfeda speaks of a road from Mecca to Bagdad, seven hundred miles in length, which road was made by El-Madi, Caliph, in the year of the Hejira, 169.

The opportunity of going through Persia with the suite of this Persian ambassador, promised to be a favourable one; but the period of his return from the pilgrimage to Imam Ali seemed uncertain. By Bussorah there was no hope of finding an occasion until the latter end of October, by which time a cruiser was expected up from Bombay; but native Indian ships, if not English trading ones, were almost certain to be met with at Bushire: so

* Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, vol. ii. p. 327.

that it was strongly recommended to me, both on the score of speed and certainty, as well as health, not to descend the Euphrates to Bussorah, but to go to some Persian port by land, the banks of the river being infested with robbers at every league, and the climate most unhealthy, from the heat and moisture of the autumnal season.

The route from Bagdad to Bushire, by way of Shooster, seemed the nearest in point of distance, and I should have preferred it, from the circumstance of its being an unfrequented one and including the interesting province of Susiana, with the old capital of the Persian monarchs, in which interesting ruins might be found, and disputed positions established; but the road was deemed too unsafe to venture on, without a very strong guard, or a large caravan, and there was neither of these just now on the point of departure. During the mission of Sir John Malcolm to the King of Persia, two English gentlemen, Mr. Grant and Mr. Fotheringham, set out by this route from Bagdad to Ispahan, on their return to India, being attached to the military service of Madras. In the way, they were both murdered by one of the predatory chiefs, of which

there are several, occupying this tract of country, in the mountains and plains; and since that period, these hostile marauders had grown progressively more powerful, more insolent, and more cruel. The only way that remained open, therefore, was by the regular caravan road of Kermanshah, Hamadān, and Ispahan; and finding, on inquiry, that there would be a caravan starting for that route in the early part of the ensuing month, I determined to accompany it.

On the 26th of August we were visited by a Dervish, from the northernmost part of the ancient Bactria. He described the present town of Balkh, which is thought to occupy the site of the city of Bactria, as being small, but having several colleges, and many learned men, with an extensive library of the most rare and valuable Eastern books; the date of the foundation of this library was unknown to him, but the collection of books in it, he said, was large, perfect, and undisturbed. The inhabitants he described as mostly Mohammedans, and of the Soonnee sect. Bokhāra he described to be as large as Bagdad, well built, peopled by Mohammedans, and descendants of Moghul tribes, having also many

colleges and learned men, but no extensive library, like that of Balkh. Samarcand, which he knew by its original name, he said was now only a small town, not half the size of Bokhāra, and having fewer Mussulmans among its population than either it or Balkh. The Turkish language was understood in each of these, but the Arabic, as a language of communication, in neither; the Toorki, or Turcoman, tongue, being spoken in all these towns and their surrounding neighbourhood.

We had brought to us in the Divan, on the morning of the 27th, an ancient mace, about two feet long, with a slender handle of wood, pointed and enamelled in green, and its head composed of a piece of coarse alabaster, about the size and shape of a turkey's egg, turning round on a rod of iron, and ending in a nail-head at the top. The history of this mace was more curious than the weapon itself, as nearly similar ones are even now in use; but this was dug up, with a number of others, enclosed in a vase, which had been found on the banks of the river Mendeli, near a place called Belled Drooze, about six days' journey to the eastward of Bagdad. The modern Mendeli is thought to be the ancient Gyndes, which

Cyrus is said to have divided into three hundred and sixty channels, in order to render it insignificant, according to Herodotus,* in revenge for its current having carried away and drowned one of the sacred horses; but probably only with a view to render it more fordable, by diverting its waters into as many channels as possible.

During the remainder of my stay at Bagdad, my time was divided between looking out for occasions of departure, and seeing as much as I could of the state of society in this city, my Asiatic dress, beard, and language, easily procuring me admission to the company of all classes.

From my first entry into Bagdad, I was surprised to find the Turkish language much more generally spoken and understood than the Arabic, notwithstanding that this city is more surrounded by Arabs on all sides, than either Damascus, Aleppo, or Mousul, in each of which Arabic is the prevailing tongue. The Turkish spoken here is said, however, to be so corrupt, both in idiom and pronunciation, that a native of Constantinople is always shocked at its utterance, and on his first

* Clio, 189.

arrival finds it almost unintelligible. I had sufficient evidence myself of the Arabic being very bad, taking that of Cairo, of Mecca, and of the Yemen, as standards of purity in pronunciation; for scarcely any thing more harsh in sound, or more barbarous in construction, and the use of foreign words, can be conceived, than the dialect of Bagdad. Turkish, Persian, Koord, and even Indian expressions, disfigure their sentences; and such Arabic words as are used are scarcely to be recognised on a first hearing, from the corrupted manner in which they are spoken.

Literature is at so low an ebb here, that there is no one known collection of good books or manuscripts in the whole city, nor any individual Moollah distinguished above his contemporaries by his proficiency in the learning of his country. I had hoped to procure at Bagdad a copy of the "Thousand and One Nights," particularly as this capital of the Abassides had been so much the scene of its story, and the Tomb of Zobeida was still popularly known, and pointed out by its inhabitants. But I learnt, with regret, that not a perfect copy of this work was thought to exist throughout all Bagdad, as inquiries had

been frequently made after one, without success, though sufficiently large sums had been offered for the work to tempt its being brought out from any private collection, if it had existed in any such.

In this, as in all other respects as an Oriental city, Bagdad is infinitely inferior to Cairo, and the interior of its streets and bazārs presents nothing like the faithful pictures which are constantly met with in Egypt, to remind the traveller of the scenes and manners described in the Arabian Tales. From this circumstance, added to the detection of many phrases in the language of the "Thousand and One Nights," which are purely Egyptian, the best judges on this subject are of opinion that the work was originally composed, and first brought into circulation, at Cairo, though its deserved popularity soon extended its fame over all the Eastern world.

In the course of my peregrinations about Bagdad, I saw no females unveiled in the streets, though I had occasion to observe, more than once, youths of the other sex, corresponding in appearance, manner, and character, with the one I had seen at the khan of the village where we halted on the night be-

fore arriving at this city. Such publicity has not been always allowed, however, to this species of libertinism; for, during the reign of a certain Ali Pasha, not many years ago, a man was thrown headlong from the highest minaret of the city, on being detected in the commission of this abominable vice.

The police of Bagdad is extremely defective. That quarrels should arise, and disputes be terminated in blood, among the Arabs who occupy the skirts of the city within the walls, and this without any cognizance of such affairs by the government, was not so surprising, as that murders should take place at the very gates of the palace, and of the great mosque, without the criminals being so much as even sought after to be brought to justice. Since the period of Mr. Rich's return from Europe to Bagdad, which was hardly six months since, no less than twelve murders had been committed within the city, one of which was close to the Pasha's residence, and another in the very porch of the mosque of Abd-ul-Khadder. The latest instance of these atrocities was only a few days before my departure; and though committed in the public streets, and before the face of a hundred

witnesses at mid-day, no one thought either of punishing the murderer on the spot, or of apprehending him for the common safety. "It is an affair of blood," said they, "which the relatives of the dead may revenge, and which the Pasha may investigate, but it is no business for us to meddle with."

Robberies too had been of late committed with impunity, in various parts of the town. They were generally effected during the night, by private gangs, who escaped without detection. But in one instance, a combination of a more extensive nature than usual was discovered to exist, for the carrying these daring outrages into execution; and one of the leading merchants of the city was found to be concerned in the encouragement of its depredations, by purchasing their acknowledged plunder. This man, however, stood too high, by his wealth only, to be called to account; and the rest, though mostly known, were, by his influence alone, suffered to escape. The Pasha, it was said, had formed the determination of going about the city at night in disguise; but by some, this was thought to be a mere report, given out to alarm the offenders; while others laughed at such a weak alter-

native, intended to be substituted for what alone could quell the evil, an active and vigorous police.

The women of Bagdad invariably wear the checquered blue covering, used by the lower orders of females in Egypt; nor among those of the highest rank here are ever seen the black and pink silk scarfs of Cairo, or the white muslin envelopes of Smyrna and Damascus. This, added to the stiff black horse-hair veil which covers the face, gives an air of great gloom and poverty to the females occasionally seen in the streets. When at home, however, their dress is as gay in colours, and as costly in materials, as in any of the great towns of Turkey; and their style of living, and the performance of their relative duties in their families, are precisely the same.

As the view from our lofty terrace at an early hour in the morning laid open at least eight or ten bed-rooms in different quarters around us, where all the families slept in the open air, domestic scenes were exposed to view, without our being once perceived, or even suspected to be witnesses of them. Among the more wealthy, the husband slept on a raised bedstead, with a mattress and

cushions of silk, covered by a thick stuffed quilt of cotton, the bed being without curtains or mosquito net. The wife slept on a similar bed, but always on the ground, that is, without a bedstead, and at a respectful distance from her husband, while the children, sometimes to the number of three or four, occupied only one mattress, and the slaves or servants each a separate mat on the earth, but all lying down and rising up within sight of each other. Every one rose at an early hour, so that no one continued in bed after the sun was up; and each, on rising, folded up his own bed, his coverlid, and pillows, to be taken into the house below, excepting only the children, for whom this office was performed by the slave or the mother.

None of all these persons were as much undressed as Europeans generally are when in bed. The men retained their shirt, drawers, and often their caftan, a kind of inner cloak. The children and servants lay down with nearly the same quantity of clothes as they had worn in the day; and the mothers and their grown daughters wore the full silken trowsers of the Turks, with an open gown; and if rich, their turbans, or if poor, an ample

red chemise and a simpler covering for the head. In most of the instances which we saw, the wives assisted, with all due respect and humility, to dress and undress their husbands, and to perform all the duties of valets.

After dressing, the husband generally performed his devotions, while the slave was preparing a pipe and coffee; and, on his seating himself on his carpet, when this was done, his wife served him with her own hands, retiring at a proper distance to wait for the cup, and always standing before him, sometimes, indeed, with the hands crossed, in an attitude of great humility, and even kissing his hand on receiving the cup from it, as is done by the lowest attendants of the household.

While the husband lounged on his cushions, or sat on his carpet in an attitude of ease and indolence, to enjoy his morning pipe, the women of the family generally prayed. In the greater number of instances, they did so separately, and exactly after the manner of the men; but on one or two occasions, the mistress and some other females, perhaps a sister or a relative, prayed together, following each other's motions, side by side, as is done when a party of men are headed in their devotions

by an Imaum. None of the females, whether wife, servant, or slave, omitted this morning duty; but among the children under twelve or fourteen years of age, I did not observe any instance of their joining in it.

Notwithstanding the apparent seclusion in which women live here, as they do indeed throughout all the Turkish empire, there are, perhaps, as many accessible dwellings as in any of the large towns under the same dominion. They are, however, much less apparent here than at Cairo, though they are all under such concealment from public notice, as not to offend the scrupulous, or present allurements to the inexperienced by their external marks. It is said, that women of the highest condition sometimes grant assignations at these houses; and this, indeed, cannot be denied, that the facility of clandestine meetings is much greater in Turkish cities, between people of the country, than in any metropolis of Europe. The disguise of a Turkish or Arab female, in her walking dress, is so complete, that her husband himself could not recognise her beneath it; and these places of appointment are so little known but to those who visit them, and so unmarked by any distinc-

tion between them and others, that they might be entered or quitted by any person at any hour of the day, without exciting the slightest suspicion of the passers-by.

Among the women to be occasionally seen in Bagdad, the Georgians and Circassians are decidedly the handsomest by nature, and the least disfigured by art. The high-born natives of the place are of less beautiful forms and features, and of less fresh and clear complexions; while the middling and inferior orders, having brown skins, and nothing agreeable in their countenances, except a dark and expressive eye, are sometimes so barbarously tattooed as to have the most forbidding appearance. With all ranks and classes, the hair is stained a red colour by henna, and the palms of the hands are so deeply dyed with it, as to resemble the hands of a sailor when covered with tar.

Those only who, by blood, or habits of long intercourse, are allied to the Arab race, use the blue stains so common among the Bedouins of the Desert. The passion for this method of adorning the body is carried, in some instances, as far as it could have been among the ancient Britons; for, besides the

staining of the lips with that deadly hue, anklets are marked around the legs, with lines extending upwards from the ankle, at equal distances, to the calf of the legs; a wreath of blue flowers is made to encircle each breast, with a chain of the same pattern hanging perpendicularly between them; and, among some of the most determined belles, a zone, or girdle, of the same singular composition, is made to encircle the smallest part of the waist, imprinted on the skin in such a manner as to be for ever after indelible. There are artists in Bagdad, whose profession it is to decorate the forms of ladies with the newest patterns of wreaths, zones, and girdles, for the bosom or the waist; and as this operation must occupy a considerable time, and many "sittings," as an English portrait-painter would express it, they must possess abundant opportunities of studying, in perfection, the beauties of the female form, in a manner not less satisfactory, perhaps, than that which is pursued in the Royal Academies of Sculpture and Painting in Europe.

APPENDIX.

CONTAINING

A BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE RESULT OF CERTAIN LEGAL PROCEEDINGS, CONNECTED WITH THE LITERARY CHARACTER OF THE AUTHOR.

At the close of the last volume of Travels, which I had the honour to lay before the world, was an Appendix, which contained a number of documents, illustrative of the measures pursued by the late Mr. John Lewis Burckhardt,—Mr. William John Bankes, late member for Cambridge,—Mr. Henry Bankes, his father, late member for Corfe Castle,—Mr. Gifford, late editor of the Quarterly Review,—and Mr. John Murray, publisher,—who had united their misrepresentations and their influence, to destroy my reputation, both as a man and an author, for the purpose of preventing the publication of my "Travels in Palestine," and other countries of the East, in order that Mr. W. J. Bankes, who had some intention to publish his observations on the same countries, should come into the

field before me, and reap whatever fame was to be acquired by priority and novelty, in the details of researches and observations made by each at the same period and on the same spot.

As soon as my return from India to England rendered it practicable, certain proceedings at law were instituted by me against three of these parties, for the purpose of proving to the world the utter falsehood of their calumnies, and the gross injustice of their conduct. Although two years had elapsed between the institution of these proceedings and the publication of the volume of Travels alluded to, yet, when it was issued from the press, not one of the three had been brought to a close. Since that period, two other years have passed away, and even these have been but just sufficient to terminate proceedings which, had not delays been studiously interposed by the parties interested, might have been closed in four months, and at a cost of one hundred pounds, instead of occupying four years, and involving an expense of upwards of five thousand pounds.

The reader, who desires to acquaint himself with the details of these proceedings, (the history of which is considered, by legal men, to be among the most curious and extraordinary of any to be found on record in the whole range of disputed questions affecting literary property and character,) is referred to the Appendix to "Travels among the Arab Tribes," in which all the documents are given at length,* and to the verbatim Reports of the Trials, in "The Oriental Herald," where the whole of the proceedings in the Court of King's Bench are faithfully recorded.† As, however, there may be many readers of the present volume, to whom the facts of the case are but imperfectly

* In 1 vol. 4to. published by Messrs. Longman and Co. 1825.

† See Oriental Herald, vol. vi. p. 380; vol. viii. p. 157; vol. x. p. 360; and vol. xi. p. 375.

known, and who may desire to be acquainted with them in outline, I shall, for their information, briefly recapitulate them; being now happily enabled to follow them from their origin to their close; and to put on record, in a permanent form, the final issue of the whole.

In the year 1816, Mr. Bankes and myself met at Jerusalem; and, by mutual consent, performed together a journey of seven days, among the ruined cities of the Decapolis, east of the Jordan, each paying his half of the expenses, the whole of which did not, however, exceed five pounds sterling. So great was Mr. Bankes's satisfaction at the pleasure and advantage of travelling in my company, that subsequent to this period, and during our joint stay in Syria, he gave me, in writing, pressing invitations to meet him at Baalbeck, solicited me to join him in an excursion to Palmyra, and actually made an attempt to come after me, for the purpose of joining me in the deserts beyond the Dead Sea, but was driven back by the dangers of the road. Having subsequently met again at Damascus, where we lived together in a Catholic Convent, he read my notes on the journey I had made, and was so much impressed with their value, that he proposed adding his drawings to these notes, for the purpose of forming out of them a joint work on Palestine and Syria. After we had parted at Damascus, he wrote me several letters, full of compliments to my industry and understanding, in which he acknowledged having read these notes, and evinced so much deference to my supposed superior judgment in matters of ancient architecture, that, on adverting to a difference of opinion between us on the age of a particular edifice, he asserted, that he should not venture, on such a subject, to put his opinion in competition with mine; admitting, at the same time, his own indolence in writing, and expressing a hope that I should not be *ashamed* to see my name asso-

ciated with his, in what we might be able to contribute jointly to the work proposed.

We finally met in Aleppo, where Mr. Bankes, after a knowledge of me for nearly six months, in frequent personal intercourse and correspondence, retained and expressed the same unaltered high opinion of my character and acquirements; on which ground, he obtained for me the attention of the British Resident there, to whom he was himself strongly introduced; and on my leaving that city for an overland journey to India, he gave me a letter of high commendation to his friend, the late Sir Evan Nepean, then Governor of Bombay.

At the moment of our parting at Aleppo, Mr. Bankes expressed a strong desire to receive back all the letters he had written to me, during our separate journeys in Syria, on the plea that, as he kept few or no notes of his own, these letters, which contained fuller details than any he possessed, would be useful to him, while, from the completeness of my own notes, which he had seen, they would be of little value to mysslf. Having no reason whatever to decline complying with his wish, these letters were readily delivered up, excepting one only, which, being sought for in vain, was supposed, by both parties, to be lost, and was no more thought of, until it was subsequently found, on my arrival in India, stuck fast by the sealing wax, which the heat of the climate of Mesopotamia had melted, to the top lining of an old portmanteau, in which linen and loose papers had been kept; and this letter, with a shorter one found inclosed in it, fortunately contained all the evidence necessary to refute the charges of its author.

I proceeded to India; when, circumstances having led to my settling in that country instead of returning to England, as we had both thought probable when we parted, my notes were shewn to and approved by the late Dr. Mid-

dleton, then Lord Bishop of Calcutta, Colonel Mackenzie, the Surveyor General of India, Dr. Lumsden, the Arabic Professor at Fort William, and other distinguished literary characters in Bengal, at whose suggestion, and with whose admitted approbation, they were announced for publication, and the manuscript sent home to England, and accepted by Mr. Murray, of Albemarle-Street, for that purpose.

Mr. Bankes, being then at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, and seeing this announcement in a copy of the "Calcutta Journal," which had reached him amid the ruins of that deserted city by way of the Red Sea, appears to have been inspired with the most ungovernable rage, or jealousy, at my appearing in print before him, (though all idea of the proposed joint work had been mutually abandoned before we separated;) and, imagining, perhaps, that as all his letters to me had been returned, I should have no evidence to refute any charges he might advance, he addressed a letter to his father in London, directing him to go at once to Mr. Murray, to induce him to desist from publishing my work, on the ground that I had palmed myself upon his company, on a condition that I should keep *his* journal while he paid *my* travelling expenses!—that I had treacherously taken away these notes, and formed out of them the volume announced for publication;—that I was so ignorant as not to know a Turkish building from a Roman one, or a Greek inscription from a Latin one!—that I kept no notes whatever, not having even paper for so doing;—and that I was altogether a worthless and abandoned character.

Mr. Bankes, senior, having then no reason to suspect his son of falsehood, as soon as he received this letter, wrote to Mr. Murray on the subject, recited the contents of his son's communication; and, without even asking to see the

materials alleged to be stolen, so as to identify them as those of another, urged Mr. Murray not to publish this worthless and imperfeet work, (though pretended to be wholly made up of his son's materials,) but to wait until Mr. Bankes, junior, should himself return, when he would give to the world a mueh better aeeount of the same eountries than this now sent him, which he ventured unequivoeally to denounce, though neither he nor his son had seen a line of its eontents. Ten years have now elapsed, however, without the promised work, whieh was to supersede this volume of mine, having yet made its appearance!

Mr. Murray, having then also no reason to suspeet the arrogant pretensions of the son, or the perhaps pardonable weakness of the father, yielded to this representation: and although he had actually made a purchase of the manuscript, and fixed both the priee and the period of publication, retraeted his engagement, and deelined to have any thing further to do with the supposed stolen production. The same representation operated equally with other booksellers; so that, until twelve months had elapsed, during whieh reference was made to me in India, the work lay under sueh odious imputations that no publisher would toueh it.

At the same time that Mr. Bankes addressed this letter to his father in London, he wrote a similar one to Sir Evan Nepean, at Bombay, ealling on him to diseountenanee me, and to use his influence to proseribe me in India; whieh letter fell into the hands of Mr. Elphinstone, Sir Evan Nepean's suecessor, and was generally seen in Bombay. He addressed another letter to myself, at Caleutta, ealling on me to desist from my intended publieation, and to give up all my manuseripts and papers to Sir Evan Nepean, for his use; or, in the event of my refusing to do so, threatening me with the exertion of all his influenee to make my

character as infamous in England, as he pretended it already was (and he himself had laboured hard to make it so) in the East. It is needless to say, that I despised his threats, and did not give up a single sheet to purchase his silence or forbearance.

The original of the letter to myself was sent by way of Arabia, and was twelve months before it reached its destination; but, for the more effectually securing the infamy which Mr. Bankes threatened to bring on my name, he gave an open copy of this letter, written with his own hand, to Mr. Henry William Hobhouse, whom he met at Trieste on his way to India, with instructions to make it public wherever he went. This gentleman, having known Mr. Bankes's family in England, and having then no reason to doubt the entire truth of the statements it contained, received the open letter in question. But learning, on his first landing at Bombay, that its accusations were likely to be disproved, he made no further use of it till his arrival at Calcutta; where, at the request of Mr. John Palmer, a mutual friend of Mr. Hobhouse and myself, the letter was given up to me, as the person to whom (though open) it was originally addressed.

Mr. Bankes in the mean time returned from Egypt to England; and, in this interval, the proofs that I had been able to send from India, of the entire falsehood of his imputations, appeared so satisfactory to Messrs. Longman and Co., that they undertook the publication of the hitherto suppressed volume. When the work appeared, however, instead of Mr. Bankes coming openly forward, and claiming any portion of the volume as his own, or producing the original notes from which it was alleged to have been stolen, he made interest with Mr. Murray, or with Mr. Gifford, then Editor of the Quarterly Review, to admit into that Periodical one of the most ungentlemanly bitter,

and slanderous articles, that ever disgraced the critical literature of the country. In this article, which, on the testimony of Mr. Murray, was written with Mr. Bankes's own hand, he not only repeats all the calumnies contained in his letter before adverted to, but adds others equally unfounded; at the same time that he very modestly praises the labours of himself, and speaks of the impatience with which the literary world were anxiously awaiting the appearance of his own valuable materials! now, as he asserted, rendered the more necessary by the intrusion of the worthless trash then under review! The world has waited, and will still have to wait in vain, however, for the promised treasure.

This article reached India, where I was then residing; and, although I was there able to repel it, by an exhibition of proofs which established my innocence in the minds of all reflecting persons; yet, it was made a pretext, by my political enemies, for their calling on the Government of India to expel from the country a man denounced by such high authorities as Mr. Bankes and the writer of the article in the Quarterly Review, (then supposed to be two distinct persons, but since proved to be one and the same.) The Indian Government, wanting nothing but such a pretext as would lessen the odium of so harsh a measure, encouraged the cry thus raised; and, under this encouragement, the flood-gates of calumny were opened, and every species of atrocity attempted towards me by the favoured minions of power.

I sought my remedy, where an Englishman should be always proud to meet his opponents, and where I have never yet shrunk from mine, in a British court of justice. I called those libellers (not before an impartial and independent jury, for in India, in cases of civil prosecution, there are no juries whatever, but I called them) before a

single English judge, being willing to abide the issue of his decision, though he sat alone upon the bench, and was, of necessity, in continual and familiar intercourse with the very members of the ruling body to whom I was an object of so much dread and hatred. The proceeding was by a civil action, in order to give my slanderers the utmost opportunity of producing proofs. Will it be believed, that this was the moment chosen by the Indian Government, when I stood before the supreme court of justice, seeking merely to defend my character against unjust imputations, for banishing me from the country altogether? Yet such was the fact: I was not permitted to remain in India to bring my calumniators to justice; but was banished, without a trial or a hearing, in the midst of those proceedings, and thus cut off from the power of enjoying the triumph which my innocence afterwards received. Much, however, as every cause, and especially a personal one, must suffer by the forcible removal of the plaintiff from the court and country in which it is tried, my own was so strong as to outlive all this; for, while I was absent on the ocean, in the ship that bore me as an exile from India for ever, a verdict was given against my calumniators, on which occasion, the judge who pronounced it declared that "the malice of the libels was only equalled by their falsehood," and that they were "too atrocious to be even thought of without horror."

On my arrival in England, and before I had received intelligence of the issue of the trial in India, I commenced three several actions against my slanderers here; 1st, against Mr. Murray, the publisher of the Quarterly Review, for the libellous article contained in that work; 2nd, against Mr. Henry Bankes, senior, the present Member for Dorsetshire, for the letter addressed by him to Mr. Murray, and which led to the suspension of my publication;

and 3rd, against Mr. William John Bankes, then Member for the University of Cambridge, for the false and scandalous imputations contained in the open letter sent out to India by the hands of Mr. Hobhouse.

All these actions have now happily been brought to a close. In the *first*, Mr. Murray voluntarily expressed, in open court, his sincere regret that his publication, the Quarterly Review, should have been made the vehicle of unfounded slander against a respectable individual, and consented to a verdict being recorded against him, including damages and costs, without attempting a justification, though Mr. William John Bankes, the writer of these unfounded slanders, was then himself in court, and every witness ever professed to be required by him was in attendance; so that the not even calling them was additional proof, if any more were necessary, of the utter absence of all grounds for the acknowledged falsehoods contained in the article in question. In the *second*, Mr. Henry Bankes, the father, though he needed no other witness than his son, who was the only source of his information, to prove his allegations, declined placing that son in the witness-box to support his own assertions; and consented to a verdict being recorded against himself, paying all costs as between attorney and client; thus confessing to the whole world, that his son had made him the medium of communicating to others slanderous imputations which he dared not venture to support by his oath, and abandoning them as scandalous and false. A very short detail of the progress and termination of the *third* cause will complete the history of this extraordinary combination of events and proceedings.

On commencing the action against Mr. William John Bankes, the open letter sent to India by Mr. Hobhouse was produced, and its publication *morally* proved, by the

fact of Mr. Hobhouse's hand-writing being at the top of the first page, where he had obliterated a motto in Italian, apparently because of its extravagant language, and written underneath it these words, "I desire this motto not to be noticed. H. W. Hobhouse;"—a proof, not merely that the letter was read by him before it came into my possession, (which of itself is legal publication,) but also of his feeling himself authorised, by the writer of it, to shew that he had so read and understood its contents. This letter was set out at full length in what is technically called "the declaration," where it must have been seen and read by Mr. Bankes and his legal advisers; and in what are called "the pleadings," he justified his having published it, on the ground that it was true, that he could prove its truth, and that, therefore, I ought to have no remedy for any injury it might have done me. In the mean time, he solicited the indulgence of the Court to allow him to send to Syria or Egypt (where the Court has no jurisdiction) for a man named Mohammed, (without any other specification,) who, with another person named Antonio, (the one an Albanian soldier, the other a Portuguese groom,) were the respectable witnesses necessary to establish his case. This indulgence was granted, on condition that Mr. Bankes should admit the identical letter produced to have been really *written* by him, reserving only the question of its *publication;* and several months passed away in the supposed finding and bringing over these witnesses from abroad, though it is believed that they were both nearer London than Jerusalem, at the time they were pretended to be sent for. The period arrived for going to trial, but it was discovered that the *moral* evidence of publication, though enough to satisfy any impartial mind, did not amount to the legal proof required, and proceedings were at a stand. I then expressed my belief, that, as Mr. Bankes had already admitted to the

Court that the letter was really written by him, and as he had in his pleadings justified (not merely his having *written* it, for that, not being a ground of civil action, needed no justification in this case, but) his having PUBLISHED the letter, on the ground that it was true, and therefore he had a *right* to publish it,—he could not fail, as a man, to wave the technical difficulty, and re-admit, at this stage of the proceeding, as he had already admitted in a former one, that he *did* publish it, so that we might go at once to the merits of the question: he well knowing that, if his imputations could be supported by evidence, my defeat and his triumph would be certain. Mr. Bankes refused, however, to admit any such thing, and shrunk from coming to the proof, though all his witnesses were at hand, declining, in short, to repeat what he had before admitted, and what he had even justified his having done.*

As Mr. Hobhouse, the bearer of the letter in question, and the only person who could prove its publication, was in India, it was necessary for me to obtain permission of the Court, to send out a Commission to that country, in order to

* The unprofessional reader should know, that if a man merely *writes* a libellous letter to another, without its passing through a third person, it can only be made the ground of a criminal proceeding, in which its truth cannot be stated in justification, as such proceeding is only on the plea of the letter having a tendency to break the king's peace; and the more true it is, the more angry it is likely to make the person to whom it relates, so that, in this sense, the greater the truth the greater the libel, i. e. the greater its tendency to provoke the parties to break the peace. But no civil proceeding for damages can be instituted against the writer of such letter, since it can only produce damage by being known to others, and it can only be known to others but through the agency of the person to whom it is exclusively addressed. In actions of this kind, therefore, it is not enough to prove that a certain person wrote a libellous letter. It must be proved or admitted that he shewed it to others besides the party libelled. It is this which is technically called "publication," without proof of which, no action for damages can be sustained.

get his evidence to this fact. An application was made for such permission; but it seems the Court could not grant it to the plaintiff, without the leave of Mr. Bankes, the defendant; and when *he* was applied to for his consent, although he had been, himself, permitted to send to Syria, or Egypt, for a certain individual named Mohammed, without stating where he was to be found, or what he was to prove, (which was as vague an errand as if any person in Turkey were to send to England or America, for a man named John, of which he might find nearly as many as there are Mohammeds in Turkey,) he declined granting it; so that he would neither admit nor deny that he published the letter, nor would he give his consent to the sending for the only evidence by which this point could be settled. If he *did* publish the letter, he ought at once to have admitted it. If he did *not* publish it, then there could be no possible reason for his refusing to send for the evidence, which must have been in his favour.

On the hardship of this case being explained, the Judges, at length, compelled Mr. Bankes to consent; but he had still the power to exact a condition, which was, that, besides my paying all the costs of the action up to that period, I should pay into Court about two hundred pounds more, as a fund for defraying the expenses of the Albanian soldier, and Portuguese groom, who were to be detained here, at *my* expense, (for twelve months at least,) to give evidence *against myself*, until an answer could be returned from India to the application sent out for Mr. Hobhouse's testimony! Hard as these conditions seemed, I was so intent upon the establishment of my own innocence, that I would have stripped off my last garment for sale, rather than abandon my pursuit of justice. I accordingly, though plundered of all I possessed by the Indian Government, and trampled to the earth by those to whom I had

since appealed for redress, did contrive to raise the sum required, and deposited it in Court accordingly, for the subsistence of those who were to have twelve months more to reflect on and arrange their evidence against me.

The next step was to send the letter of Mr. Bankes to India, to be identified by Mr. Hobhouse, and to have his deposition on oath, as to whether he published it with Mr. Bankes's authority or not. I had hoped that an attested copy of this would have answered the purpose, particularly as Mr. Bankes could not retract the admission he had made to the Court of having actually *written* the original of the letter set out in the declaration. But the nicety of the law required that the identical letter itself, on which Mr. Hobhouse had, with his own hand, written the words before quoted, should be sent out, though attested copies might be kept here to produce, in case of its loss, which would, however, again be required to be proved by affidavit. The original letter was accordingly transmitted to India, by the steam-ship *Enterprise*, with a view to the greatest despatch. She was longer on the passage than had been expected, and when she reached India, Mr. Hobhouse had left it some time for England; so that, while he was in one hemisphere, the letter was in another, and the object of sending it to India was thus entirely defeated.

Mr. Hobhouse, however, soon reached this country; but, as his stay in it was uncertain, and as the only obstacle to our proceeding to trial was the question of *publication*, it appeared to me impossible that Mr. Bankes should now decline coming into Court, to meet the question fairly. He had already *indirectly* admitted that he PUBLISHED the letter, when he pleaded its truth as his justification for having so done. He had since *directly* admitted that he WROTE the letter, when this was exacted as a condition of his sending for witnesses into Syria. And

although, when he discovered that our moral evidence did not amount to legal proof of publication, he declined to repeat his former admission, and thus put off the evil day for another year; yet, as the gentleman himself, Mr. Hobhouse, who alone could settle this doubtful point of publication, had arrived in England, was soon about to leave it, and could be summoned to the Court immediately, to say "aye" or "no" to this simple question, I considered it certain that Mr. Bankes would consent to our putting the matter at once to the test, by going before a jury without delay. He was applied to, for this purpose, through the usual channels of our respective solicitors. He not only declined to come into Court, and have the issue tried, but set up, through his attorneys, an absurd and incredible pretence of "knowing nothing of the letter in question," of not having seen this "pretended" production; though he had before deliberately admitted that he *wrote* it, had deliberately justified his having *published* it, and had obtained, from beyond the limits of Christendom, witnesses to *prove* that every word of it was true!!

I was accordingly obliged to wait the return of the original letter from India, under the continual apprehension,—first, that the accidents which attend voyages by sea might occasion this document to be either lost, or delayed indefinitely on its way,—and, secondly, that Mr. Hobhouse, the only witness who could prove its publication when it came, might be gone from England before the period of its return; either of which would have thrown fresh difficulties in my path, and each of which were no doubt encouraging sources of hope to my calumniator.

In the mean time, the period to which the trial had been postponed by order of the Court, to admit of the return of the Commission from India, (about ten months,) expired, without the document arriving; when Mr. Bankes

—well knowing that, if a trial could be forced on *before* the original letter had returned from India, he would gain a verdict, as this letter was the only evidence of the libels it contained, which the Court would admit or receive —resisted my application for a short postponement till the Commission should arrive, and pressed the Court to have the trial brought on at once, on the ground that the expense of retaining his foreign witnesses in England was considerable, (though all the charges of their maintenance here were to be defrayed by myself,) and that he could not answer for their willingness to stay any longer. This application was, however, unsuccessful. The Chief Justice of the King's Bench, on hearing the statement of my counsel, respecting the daily-expected arrival of the original letter, and also of my willingness to go immediately to trial, if Mr. Bankes would admit an attested copy of it to be produced in its stead, granted a further postponement; but only on condition of my paying a further sum of money into Court, for the maintenance of Mr. Bankes's foreign witnesses during the period of their future detention; to which I readily consented.

At length, in October, 1826, (being more than three years after the first institution of the action,) the Commission returned from India, and the cause was set down for trial on the 19th of the same month. Up to the evening preceding that day, though all the documents and witnesses for my case had been then procured, and vast expense had been incurred in completing the arrangements for the trial, I continued to give proofs of my being as much disposed to shew clemency to my more obstinate enemy, as I had already done towards his repentant colleagues. Having no feelings of personal vengeance to gratify, and demanding only justice, I should have been perfectly satisfied, provided Mr. Bankes would have paid a

sum suffieient to reimburse all the expenses already incurred, and made the same public avowal whieh Mr. Murray, and Mr. Henry Bankes, his father, had already done, that the aecusations eontained in his libellous letter were altogether unfounded. I did not, at any time, wish to touch a shilling of his money, and should have been, at any period of the proeeedings, quite eontent with his making the public reparation of my charaeter, whieh strict justiee required, without exaeting the smallest peeuniary eompensation from his purse for the enormous evils I had suffered. Whether, however, the sum neeessary to eover the amount of expenses aetually ineurred, was too great to be parted with, by one who loved it so well;—or whether the only sort of reparation, whieh the party from whom it was due would be prepared to make, was a private hushing-up of the matter,—to whieh, if even my existence hung upon the issue, I would never have yielded my consent;—or, indeed, whether both of these considerations might not have had an equal influenee in strengthening the unrelenting purpose of my aecuser,—it is not easy to determine; but, in point of faet, no measures were aetually taken by him to evinee either regret for the injuries he had done, or a desire to repair them.

We aeeordingly went, on the morning of the next day, (Oetober 19, 1826,) to trial. The Court was erowded, especially with literary and political characters, and the interest was intense. The trial lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till nearly seven at night; and throughout the whole of that time the Court eontinued as full as at the beginning. Mr. Hill and Mr. Pattison opened the ease; and Mr. Brougham, in a masterly speeeh of analysis and narrative, stated the libels, and commented on their atroeity and incredibility; after whieh, evidenee was ealled to prove the allegations set forth in the pleadings on my behalf:—in-

cluding Mr. Hobhouse, to prove the publication of the letter;—Mr. Arrowsmith, to prove that the engravings contained in my printed volume of "Travels in Palestine" were from original materials of my own, contained in manuscript books carefully examined by him, and compared with the published work, so that they could not have been copied, as pretended, from the plans exhibited as those of Mr. Bankes;—and Dr. Babington, as to knowledge of my character and capacity as a Traveller, obtained from a personal acquaintance of many years, and daily intercourse during a joint voyage made by us together from India to Egypt, by way of Arabia, in the year 1815, before I had ever seen Mr. Bankes, or even heard of his pursuits.

Mr. Gurney followed, on the part of the defendant; and, after a speech, in which he solemnly declared his being able to prove that every word and tittle of Mr. Bankes's accusations were true, he called Giovanni Benatti, the Albanian soldier, who had acted as interpreter to Mr. Bankes in Syria, speaking Italian and Arabic only, and Antonio Da Costa, the Portuguese groom, who spoke only Portuguese and Italian; with Col. Leake, Capts. Irby and Mangles, and Mr. Parry; the two former to speak to facts occurring during the seven days which Mr. Bankes and myself had travelled together from Jerusalem to Jerash and Nazareth; and the four latter to speak to the accuracy of certain Greek inscriptions, copied from the ruins of Geraza, as well as the resemblances and differences between certain plans of the ruins of that city, drawn by different hands, with a view to determine whether one had been copied from the other, or whether each had the appearance of being original.

Upon the evidence adduced on both sides, Mr. Brougham made an eloquent and powerful reply, in which—after denouncing, in terms which will be long remembered

for their foree, the conduct of Mr. John Murray, the publisher, in a transaetion eonnected with the detention of eertain property intrusted to his eare by me, and seeretly supplied by him to my aecusers to strengthen their evidenee,—thus assisting to make others the instrument of new wrongs to an individual who had already forgiven him his own offences,—to procure which forgiveness, he had publicly expressed his regret at having been made, by others, the unwilling instrument of wrong to the very same person whom he was now helping others to overwhelm with fresh injuries;—after setting the evidenee of the foreign witnesses in a light which closely approached to wilful perjury;—and proving, from undisputed letters written with Mr. Bankes's own hand, that *he* too had been guilty of uttering false, scandalous, and malieious libels, well knowing them at the time of their utteranee to be untrue;—he appealed to the justiee of the Jury, and left the ease entirely in their hands.

The Chief Justice delivered, after this, an elaborate eharge, in which, though evincing every disposition to extend mercy to the defendant, he was constrained to admit that Mr. Bankes had failed altogether in his justifieation, and that therefore the plaintiff was entitled to the verdict of the Jury; whieh, however, in eonformity with the evident disposition before adverted to, he used all his influenee to persuade them to reduce to as moderate a standard as possible.

The Jury retired, and after a eonsultation,—in which it was understood that large damages were eontended for by some, who were overruled, however, by others over whom the persuasive powers of the Judge had greater influenee,—they came into Court, and pronouneed their verdict, deelaring Mr. Bankes to be guilty of the false, scandalous, and malicious libels laid to his charge, and ad-

judging him to pay, as damages, to the Plaintiff, the sum of Four Hundred Pounds.

This, then, has been the issue of the three several actions instituted against the three separate parties named. Mr. John Murray, the publisher of the Quarterly Review, has publicly expressed his regret that his work should have been made the vehicle of unfounded slanders (which he has since openly avowed to have been written by Mr. W. J. Bankes himself) against a respectable and innocent individual; and, as a proof of the sincerity of this admission, he consented to abandon all justification, to submit to a verdict being recorded against him, and to pay all the costs incurred. Mr. Henry Bankes, senior, though he expressed no regret, consented to admit the accusations to be false, by abandoning all justification of their truth, by submitting to a verdict being recorded against him, and by consenting also to pay all costs. Mr. William John Bankes, feeling no regret, and abandoning no justification, is at length compelled to adduce his evidence before a Jury of his countrymen, whose verdict, after the most patient hearing of all that could be said in his defence, stamps his character in terms, of which the record will remain as long as the Court of King's Bench shall exist, or the memory of this signal triumph of integrity over injustice shall endure.

It remains only to add, that—notwithstanding the amount of the verdict given in my favour, and the nominal payment of all the ordinary costs of the proceedings by the convicted parties, yet, from the shamefully defective state of the law, the appalling power given to interested parties to delay proceedings and accumulate expense, with the advantage taken, by the parties accused, of various technical obstacles, which from time to time presented themselves, and the extraordinary charges thus resulting, which fall entirely on

myself,—the costs of this complete victory, obtained by an individual over a powerful conspiracy, by which, all that wealth, rank, and influence, could accomplish, was essayed in vain, will be little short to me of One Thousand Pounds sterling, independantly of the suffering and loss inflicted on me by the effect of these widely-spread slanders in India. There, indeed, the injury occasioned to me by their influence was immense; for they undoubtedly led, in their results, not merely to my being banished from that country, without a trial or a hearing, at the very moment of my bringing the abettors of these calumnies before a British Court of Justice; but also to a total annihilation of all my future prospects in life, and to the wanton and utter destruction of all the property I had lawfully and honourably acquired, by the labours of my pen, and left behind me in India, while I came to England to seek redress. This property, amounting in saleable value to Forty Thousand Pounds, and yielding, at the moment of my being torn from it, a clear and improveable income of Eight Thousand Pounds sterling per annum, was, as soon as I had quitted the shores of India, forcibly transferred, with all its advantages, to other hands, in consequence of a premeditated design (since discovered by secret papers produced before a Committee of Parliament) first to get me to leave the country, in the confidence of its being safe from violation, and then, as soon as I was absent, to destroy it altogether; the Government of Bengal making a local regulation for this express purpose, which regulation has since been declared, by the King's Judges in the Supreme Court of Justice at Bombay, to be utterly repugnant to British law, and in violation of the rights of the subject; which no Court of Justice could therefore legally sanction.

To crown the whole of this career of treachery and ini-

quity, the Indian authorities in England,—including the Directors of the East India Company, and the Members of the Board of Controul, to each of whom all these facts are as well known as to myself,—have not only denied me all redress for this illegal plunder of their servants abroad, but have refused me even permission to return, for a few brief weeks only, to my ruined concerns in the East, in order to gather up, if possible, some fragments from the scattered wreck, which is now, therefore, entirely and irretrievably swept away for ever!

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Tavistock-Square,
February 5, 1827.

INDEX.

A.

ABASSIDES, empire of this dynasty of the Eastern Caliphate, vol. ii. 415.
Abdallah, a Christian pilgrim met with at Orfah, vol. i. 99, 100.
Abduction of a beautiful Arab woman gives rise to a war, i. 2.
Abgarus, king of Edessa, i. 125, 126. 133. 151.
Abraham, feasting his angelic visitants, i. 33; his birth-place, Ur of the Chaldees, i. 109. 121. 163.
Abu Aioobe Ibn Temar, sheikh of the tribe of Beni-Melan, i. 173. Presents exacted by him and his followers, 206. Nature of the supper given in his tents, 273. His father's tomb, 284. Visit to him, 293.
Academic building, called Medrassee el Mostanseree, ii. 238.
Accommodations and rest, agreeable, i. 120. 197.
Adventurers, military, i. 86, 87.
Agriculture, particulars relating to, i. 30. 305. 308. 355. 418.—ii. 125.
Ahmed, the Caliph Abbassidas, his history and learning, ii. 415.
Akh Tuppe, i. 359. 403.
Akkerkoof, or Nimrod's palace, supposed by early travellers to have been the Tower of Babel, ii. 219. Ruins and masonry at, 219. 221. 457.
Akkerkoof, its ruin is coeval with the extant vestiges of Babylon, ii. 223. 326. Assumption that this is the site of an ancient city, 224. Conjectures respecting the origin and identity of the tower at Akkerkoof, 229. 239.
Ain Koura, village of, ii. 91. 95.
Alexander the Great, cities built by him, i. 49. His expedition against Darius, ii. 76. 82. 100. 249. 267. 364. 367. 376.
Aleppo, the author's stay in this city; he takes his departure, i. 1.
Aleppo, river of, i. 8.
Allipoor, village of, i. 348.
Al Hheimar, mound of, (near Hillah and Babylon,) ii. 296. 304. 306. 317. 321. 325.

Al-Mamoun, this Caliph has two degrees measured, i. 467.
Altoun Kupree, or the Golden Bridge, town so called, ii. *101.
Altoun Sou, river so named, ii. *101, *102, 103.
Amida, city of, (now Diarbekr,) i. 376. Its history, 384, 385.
Amooda, Koord village of, i. 416.
Amusement, places of public, at Bagdad, ii. 429. 431.
Ancient authors cited, with respect to Babylon, i. 26.—ii. 254. 261. 279. 282. 293. 297. 310. 318. 345. 374. 384.
Antioch, city of, ii. 465. 470.
Antiques, valuable collection of, ii. 64. 403, 404, 405, 406. 411. 488.
Antiquities, at Beer, i. 59; at Orfah, 179; at Nisibeen, 443, 444. At Babylon, ii. 289.
Anah, (the ancient *Anatho*,) i. 55.
Anazie Arabs, strength of this tribe, i. 2. 195.
Ants, an inch in length, i. 247.
Arabesques, ii. 33.
Arabian horses, i. 447.—ii. 206. 252.
Arab-el-Belled, encampments, i. 232.
Arabian Nights' Entertainments, not a copy to be procured in Bagdad, ii. 490.
Arabic, the language, i. 28. 116. 280. 349. Not so generally spoken at Bagdad as the Turkish, ii. 166. 489.
Arabic letter, dictated. Its nature, i. 286.
Arabic pointed niches in various architectural remains, i. 73.—ii. 33. 137. 192. ii. 452.
Araske, temple of, at Nineveh, ii. 63.
Architecture, remarks on, i. 31. Ancient edifices, 54. At Orfah, 155, 156. Remains of Roman architecture in the East, 317, 318. At Nisibeen, 443, 444. Temple at Nineveh, 443. Gothic and Saracenic architecture, ii. 34. The arch called Tauk Kesra, 456, 457.
Ark of Noah, tradition respecting it, i. 474.
Arevcel, or *Arbeel*, town of, ii. 96, 97. (*Arbela*.)
Arrack, i. 398.—ii. 93.
Arrest of a Koord for debt, i. 393, 394.
Artillery, dismounted in the town of Diarbekr, i. 376.
Ashur, founder of Nineveh, Rehoboth, Resen, and the Assyrian and Syrian cities, i. 446.—ii. 227.
Assad, Pasha of Bagdad, ii. 172. 197. 204. 479, 480.
Asscs, white, of Bagdad, ii. 208.
Astronomical observations made at Bagdad, ii. 433. 435, 436.
Attack by Arab horsemen, i. 10.
Azrower, village, i. 457, 458.

B.

Babylon, extent of, ii. 254. 314. 331. 390. Approach to the first mounds, 253. Writing, reeds, inscribed bricks, and bitumen, are characteristics of the Babylonian remains, 253. Descriptions, 254. 311. The Mujellibé, 257. 260. 271. El Kassr, 277. 291, 292. The walls and city, 284. 288. 297. The ditch, 304. 318. 321. Relative position of Babylon, Nineveh, and Ctesiphon, and their comparative grandeur and magnificence, 337. 467. Map of the environs of Babylon, by Major Rennel, 347.

Bagdad, the author arrives at, ii. 171. His reception there, 175, 176. Its walls, 177, 178. Description of the city, 180. The serai of the Pasha, 181. The mosques, 181. 430. The bazars, 184. Its trade and manufactures, 193. 198. 200. Bridge of boats, 433. Site of the ancient Bagdad, 453. Return to Bagdad, 398. 471. The Pasha's state procession, 172. General description of the manners and customs of this city, 489. 494. Its police, 492. The Bagdad women, 491. 494. Their practice of staining their body with blue dye, 498.
Bairam, feast of the, ii. 478. 480.
Baldwin, of Jerusalem, i. 130.
Balkh, city of, in the ancient Bactria, ii. 487, 488.
Barak, plain of, i. 29, 30.
Barker, Mr., British Consul at Aleppo, i. 4. 7. 214. 223. 332.
Basalt, tops of columnar basaltic stones, i. 17. Porous basalt of the Hauran plains, 277. 298. 361.
Basaltic columns at Diarbekr, i. 384.
Baths, i. 144. 195. 197. 339. 378.
Battle in the Desert, betwixt tribes jealous of the plunder of the caravan, i. 274.
Bear, dancing, ii. 121.
Beards, unshaven, i. 186.
Beauty, female, i. 16. 417.—ii. 197. 473.
Bedouins, the, i. 163. Blue stains employed for the skin by these Arabs, ii. 498.
Beer, passage of the Euphrates at, i. 46. 62. 64. The ancient Birtha, 49. History of this city, 49. Description, 57. 60. Language spoken, 65. The governor obtains money from the author, for permission to proceed, 71.
Belled Chittea, district so named, i. 460.
Bellino, Mr., secretary, ii. 173. 217. 233. 240. 251. 303. 351. 397.
Belus, temple of, ii. 270. Description of it, 362. 376. 379. Its dimensions, 378. Disquisition respecting it, 380. 384. 387. 388.
Belus, tower of, ii. 260. 264. 278. 377.
Beni-Meilan, tribe of Arabs of the Desert, tribute exacted by them, i. 255. 258. Their encampments, 272. 278. Their cemetery, 283. Their force, 294.
Benjamin, of Tudela, travels of the Rabbi, i. 132. 465.—ii. 6. 39. 260. His account of Bagdad compared with the present time, ii. 413, 414. 479.
Berman, village of, i. 351.
Birs Nimrood, a great ruin on the western shore of the Euphrates, ii. 332. 362. 364. 373, 374. 377. 381. 384.
Biz, an enormous fresh-water fish of the river Diala, ii. 440.
Boats of the Euphrates, remarkable, i. 46, 47. 63.—ii. 439.
Bokhara, town of, ii. 487.
Bricks, masonry of burnt, similar to those of Babylon ii. 251. 275. 332. 369, 457.
Bricks, unburnt, in various great ruins of antiquity, ii. 268. Their composition, and the style of masonry, 272. 335. 411.
Bridges of boats, passage across them, ii. 70. 241. 354. That over the Tigris at Bagdad described, 357. 433.
Brosses, President de, his Memoir on the monarchy of Nineveh, ii. 445. 463.

Bruce, the traveller, anecdote respecting a statement of his, ii. 58.
Buckingham, Mr., agreement respecting his journey from Aleppo, with a merchant of Mousul, i. 5. 70. He is seized upon as a fugitive janissary, by the soldiers at Beer, 69. Though falsely charged, he confesses he is a janissary, and escapes by paying a sum of money, 70. Kind treatment of him by his Mohammedan travelling friend, 70. 107. He takes interest in the cotton manufactures of Orfah, 146. He fails in due respect to the Bedouin warriors, 259. Inquiries with regard to him resulting therefrom, 260. Ridiculous test proposed to him, 263. Sum paid by him to save his property from pillage by the Arabs, 266. His anxious care of his Damascus sword, 271. It is discovered, and how ransomed, 275, 276. He engages in action, 275. A Koord vows to escort him with fidelity, 347. Adventure which befals his guide, 393. Disagreeable consequences to the author, 395. He sets out alone for Mardin, 402. Constant demands on him for tribute to the sheikhs, 428. His serious trouble in loading a mule, ii. 157. 160. 162. His ill plight at the gate of Bagdad, 171. 174. His determination to enter the city, 174. Kind reception and rest after fatigues, 175. Equipped as a Bedouin, 241. He assumes the character of a guide, 241. 251. Visits Babylon, 254. 261. 291. 296. He seeks for the ancient walls of Babylon, 297. 303. 324. He is seized with fever at Bagdad, 400. The author visits Ctesiphon and Seleucia, 214. 270. 311. 462. He resolves to proceed to India through Persia, by the route of Kermanshah, Hamadan, Ispahan, to Bussorah, 486. 487.
Burnisht, hospitable reception of the author at, i. 409, 410.
Berreah, El, the Desert, i. 194. 306. 459.
Bushire, road from Bagdad to, ii. 486, 487.
Batter, mode of making, i. 16.

C.

Cabalistic devices and gems, ii. 404. 408.
Calcatta, Bishop of, sails in the Aurora, ii. 403.
Calneh of the Scriptures, attempt to identify its position with that of the ancient *Ctesiphon*, i. 132.—ii. 463.
Calpac, the Armenian, i. 392.
Camels eaten, i. 206. Description of them, ii. 207.
Camilla di Jesa, Padre, an Italian traveller to Damascus, ii. 132. His mistakes in geography are fatiguing to him, 133, 134.
Canal from the Euphrates to the Tigris, ii. 244. The Nahr Malka, 244. 467.
Caravan, that which the author joins, commences its journey, i. 3. 11. Attacked by a horde of Turcomans, ii. 23. Its passage across the Euphrates, 46. Adventure on quitting Beer, 68. Charitable hospitality of the merchants towards the poor, 82. The caravan quits Orfah, 231. It is detained by the Arabs, 254. 256. The author rejoins it at Nisibeen, excessive exactions, 427.
Caravan from Aleppo to Bagdad, i. 3.
Caravanserais, Khan Charmelleek, i. 73. Khan Koolah Oglee at Orfah, 93. 140. Khan-el-Goomrook at Orfah, 94. 141. 146. At Diarbekr, 379. Of Baiaat, ii. 126. Of Bagdad, 189. Khans on the route to Babylon, 242. 245. 256. 251. Description of, 251.

Carp, in excessive quantity in the Lake of Orfah, i. 111. 143.
Cashmere Shawls, i. 381.
Castle of Orfah, i. 159, 160. 216. Of Mardin, 336.
Castles and fortified camps of *antiquity*, i. 13. 215.
Cathedral of the Crusaders, at the ancient *Orthosia*, on the coast of Syria, ii. 441.
Caves, remarkable, i. 58. 63.
Cawasses, or silver-sticks, attendants of the Pasha at Mousul, i. 115.—ii. 22, 23.
Cemeteries. At Beer, i. 46. At Orfah, 91, 92. 113. In the Desert, 283.
Chamoorly, its mosque in ruin, i. 18.
Chastity of the Turcoman females, i. 77. They have no veil,—scriptural parallel, Judah and Tamar, 77.
Chekel Aga, a village of reed huts and tents, i. 475.—ii. 5.
Chief, young Arab, of Altoun Kupree, ii. 112.
Christians of Bagdad, few in number, ii. 413.
Cisterns, circular and bottle-shaped, cut down into the rock, or otherwise constructed, i. 79. 252.
Circassian women at Bagdad, ii. 197.
Climates, various, i. 85. 203. Babylon, ii. 305. 349.
Climate of Bagdad, ii. 214. 250.
Cochineal, i. 171. The insects, ii. 139.
Coffee, how partaken of, i. 33.
Coffee-Houses, i. 148. 339.—ii. 30. 167. Coffee-House, near the Medrassee el Mostanser at Bagdad, 434.
Coffins and skeletons found in the Mujellibé, at Babylon, ii. 274.
Coins found on the banks of the Tigris, why claimed by the Pasha, ii. 404, 405.
College of the mosque at Orfah, i. 190.
Colt, Arabian, offered for sale to the author, ii. 252.
Columns, Corinthian, i. 143. 156. 219.
Convent, Christian, at Bagdad, ii. 412.
Copper ore, smelting of, i. 383.
Corpses, caravan of, Persian, ii. 398.
Costume, Arab, i. 6. 14. 37. Of the Turcomans, 14. 22. 76. Of certain pilgrims, 100. At Orfah, 91. 151. Of the Arabs of the Desert, 255. 452. At Mardin, 343. At Diarbekr, 392. At Altoun Kupree, ii. *102. At Bagdad, 193.
Cottons, printed, i. 146.
Cottoneah, lake and town of, i. 468. 469.
Courtenay, Count, of Edessa, i. 130.
Crassus, his defeat by Surena, and death, i. 163. 235.
Ctesiphon, walls and mounds of this ancient city, ii. 244. 470.
Cufic rings, seals, and talismans, ii. 408.
Cunaxa, battle fought at, between Cyrus the younger and Artaxerxes, ii. 297.
Cap, anecdote of a lost, i. 281.
Custom-house at Beer, i. 48.
Cylinders, intaglios, amulets, and idols, found at Babylon, ii. 403, 404.
Cypress trees, formerly abounded in Babylonia, i. 178. 191.—ii. 455.
Cyrus i. 219. He divided the *Gyndes* into many channels, ii. 114. 153.

D.

Dagon, the sea-idol, i. 112.

D'Anville, Memoir on the Euphrates and the Tigris by, i. 431.—ii. 315. 465. 467. 471.
Dances, eastern, i. 101, 102. St. Cyprian and Volney quoted in illustration of them, *notes*, 102. Similar to the Fandango, 103, 104. 363.
Dangers of the author's route from commotions and robbers, i. 2. 22. 166. 199. 239. 408. 479.
Daniel, the son of Khasdai, "Conductor of the Captivity," ii. 424. His state, 425.
Dara, or *Kara Dara*, i. 420. Its history, 422. 424. Its geographical position, 425, 426.
Darius, disquisition respecting his defeat, ii. 97.
Darius, his flight after his defeat at Arbela, ii. 76. 79. *99.
Dastagherd, palace of ii. 474.
Daracardin, mentioned by Tavernier, i. 426.
Date-trees, ii. 125. 139. 353. 462.
Deer Zafferany, convent at Mardin, i. 319. 324. 327.
Delhi Abass, village of, ii. 148. 150. 155. 156.
Della Valle, Pietro, his observations on Babylon, ii. 261. 269. 273.
Derb Sultani, or the King's highway, i. 253.
Dervishes, amount of, i. 201. Their tenets, 221.—ii. 160. 352. Account given by a Dervish, of some interesting places, and a valuable library of ancient books, 487, 488.
Dervish, Indian, i. 349. Moroseness of a Dervish, ii. 160.
Derya, town of, ii. 483, 484.
Desert, the western, ii. 218.
Desert, Arabs of the Great, i. 237. 291.
Desert, description of the, i. 82. 232. 235. 297.—ii. 218. 313, 314.
Dew, fall of, i. 86.
Diala, bridge of boats over this river, broken, ii. 155. Description of this stream, 441. Its identity, discussed, 443. Its amplitude, 476.
Diarbekr, City of, i. 366. Description of, 371. Its citadel, 373, 374. Anciently *Amida*, 385. Columns of black basalt, 384. Its History, 387. 389.
Dissertation respecting Nineveh and the ancient city of "No," ii. 58. 60.
Diodorus Siculus, describes Nineveh and Babylon, ii. 53. 77. 261. 265. 271. 310. 347.
Dogs, species of, i. 10.
Domestic economy in private families at Bagdad, ii. 494. 496.
Doogher, village of, i. 449.
Drought, distressing near Bagdad, ii. 402.

E.

Edessa, its site occupied by the town of Orfah, i. 109. Its history, 121. 124. 126.
Eesa, a Christian pilgrim, i. 99. 100.
El-Assr, the hour of afternoon prayers, i. 108. 164. 198. 270. 325.—ii. 127. 157.
El Madeien, residence of the Kings of Persia, ii. 225.
El Mazar, a camp of Bedouins, i. 257. 271.
Eliezer Ben Isamah, claimed a descent from the Prophet Samuel, ii. 423, 424.
Emblems sculptured on silver coins; a Greek galley,—a bearded warrior in a chariot,—a castle, ii. 407, 408.

Entertainments and feasts, Eastern, i. 87. 96. 185. 200. 353. 398. 406.
Environs of Babylon, particulars relative to the neighbouring towns, ii. 444. Map of them, by Major Rennel, 446. 471.
Eruptions, cutical, i. 152, 153.
Etymologies, curious and interesting, i. 51, 52.—ii. 105.
Euphrates, river, i. 45. Comparison of its width at Beer, with that of some other rivers, 49. The river Φορά, its etymology, 51, 52. 360. Its rafts aided by bladders, ii. 81, 82, 83. 347.
Exactions, by the Turkish and Arab governors, levied upon Frank travellers, i. 4. 257. 265. 312. 353. 428. 453.
Excursion to Akkerkoof, ii. 217.

F.

Fakirs, or beggars, from the Punjab, i. 83, 84. 221. To kill vermin accounted by them an unclean act, 97. 201.
Farsee, Sheikh, i. 428. 441.
Felugia, or Gehiaga, visited by the Rabbi Benjamin, ii. 261.
Feradj, a juvenile Abyssinian slave, i. 181.
Fever, cure for, i. 37.
Fortifications, old, i. 61. At Dara, 425. Ancient wall at Diarbekr, 373.
Fruits of the East enumerated, i. 87. 150. 349.

G.

Galleen, castellated dwelling at, i. 354.
Gall-nuts, of the Koordistan hills, ii. 6.
Garden and pavilion, i. 199, 200.—ii. 352.
Garzoni, le Père; his account of the Yezidis, i. 208, 209. 211. 289.
Gaugamela, battle of, (between Alexander and Darius,) ii. 76. 97.
Genesis, Book of, quoted respecting the kingdom of Babel, and the Land of Shinar, i. 465, 466.—ii. 226. 463.
Genii, belief in the influence of, i. 183.
Geographical absurdities credited by the Arabs, i. 263.
Georgian women, beauty of the, ii. 197.
Ghatter, bird so named in Arabic, i. 19.
Gihon, river, i. 53.
Gospels, valuable copy in Syriac found at Mardin, i. 326.
Greek and Roman masonry, character of certain examples of these, ii. 456, 457.
Gyndes, river, ii. 153. 488, 489.

H.

Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhman, merchant of Mousul, admits the author of his travelling party, i. 5. 223, 224. He advises Mr. Buckingham not to shew his passport, as an Englishman, 69. His hospitable tent and table, 82. 87. His occasional humility, 256. 259. His excellent entertainments, 344. Exactions made upon him at Nisibeen, 428. Fresh extortion, 453. Attachment of the inhabitants of Mousul to him, ii. 15. 44. His house, 46.

Hadjee Abd-el-Ateef, i. 6. 226, 227.—ii. 15. 46.
Hadjee Habeeb, ii. 140. 142. 147. 165. 171.
Hadjee and *Mokhoddesy*, the signification of these titles explained, i. 99. The etymology of these words, 99. 106.
Halleluia, chorus in a Syrian hymn, i. 331.
Haller, Baron, German traveller, ii. 405.
Hamadan, town of, ii. 18.
Hamed, Pasha of Mousul, ii. 21. His stud, 23. 35. His courteous behaviour, 22. 35.
Hanging Gardens of Babylon, ii. 256. 265. 287. 293. 391.
Haran, towers of, i. 161, 162.
Haroun-Al-Raschid, ii. 235.
Harvest gathered in, i. 355. 418.
Hauran, plains of the, i. 17, 158. 225. 315.
Heat, of the Desert, is insupportable, i. 236. 307.
Heath, odoriferous, with a purple, bean-shaped fruit, ii. 448. Carried to Bagdad market, 439. 448.
Hebheb, village of, ii. 164. 166.
Hebrew, proficiency of the Caliph Ahmed in, ii. 415, 416.
Helena, religious foundations by the Empress, i. 324.
Herodotus, cited, i. 245.—ii. 58. 82. 317. 320.
Hieroglyphics and symbols, chased on the surface of the Babylonian cylinders, ii. 403, 404. 407.
Hillah, town and mounds of, ii. 258. 289. 306. 331. 351. 353. 358. 395, 396.
Hillah, the site of a part of Babylon, ii. 289.
Hindoostanee, i. 20. 84. 349.
Hine, Dr. ii. 173. 325. 401. 416. 479.
History of the World, written in Arabic with Syriac characters, i. 118.
Hospitals at Bagdad, ii. 421, 422. Of the Dervishes, 218.
Hoopoes, crested, abundant in Egypt, i. 233.
Horse-dealer, who travels with the author, i. 413, 414. 428.
Humbarak, village of, i. 44.
Hunting, occasional, i. 28.
Hussein, a Koord robber, i. 346. His village and dwelling, 351. His arrest, 393, 394.
Hyæna, the ravages of this animal, i. 15.

I.

Ice brought from the summits of Taurus for sale, i. 87. 149.
Illustrations of Rich's Memoir of Babylon, ii. 370.
Image of our Saviour at Edessa, i. 127, 128, 129. 151.
Inscriptions, i. 177. Extremely ancient and undecyphered at Beer, 62. At Orfah, 74. 177. At Koach Hassar, 310.
Intaglios and gems from the mounds of Nineveh, ii. 64. 403, 404. 407.
Intaglio, singular and curious agate, ii. 407. 481.
Isa, remains of the canal of, which connected the Tigris with the Euphrates, ii. 227. 230.
Ismaelites, the, i. 163. 213.

J.

Janissaries, corps of, i. 187.
Janissary, execution of a, i. 117.
Jebel Mardin, hilly range, i. 291. 302. 306. 461.

Jelab, water of, i. 233.
Jews, ii. 413. Resident in Assyria and Mesopotamia, in great number, ever since their captivity, 413. 427. The Jews protected by Seleucus, 460, 461.
Jezeereh, town of, ii. 5.
Jonah, the tomb of this prophet, ii. 50. 52. 56. 245. 337.
Jonas, the Tartar, (messenger,) ii. 73. His disposition of four wives at the distant towns to which he travelled, 73, 74. 90. 92. 95. 128. 131. 175.
Josephus, passages from, i. 51. 282.—ii. 59. 335. He is cited with regard to the Prophet Daniel, 454.
Journey, rate of a caravan's progress, i. 80, 81.
Jupiter Ammon, under the symbol of a ram's head, ii. 404.

K.

Kara Tuppe, or the Black Hill, town of, ii. 142. 145. 156.
Karagoash, village, ii. 71. Construction of the houses, 72. 81.
Karaj Dag, or the Black Mountain, i. 285. 361. 373.
Kauther, river of, ii. 74. 84, 85.
Kellek, or raft, attacked by Arabs, and the crew murdered, ii. 81, 82.
Kellek, village of, ii. 87. 91.
Kerbela, or Mesjid Hussein, ii. 331. 363. Town of Kerbela is plundered by the Wahabees, 483.
Kerkook, town of, ii. 115. 121.
Khalif Aga, his well-appointed followers, i. 449. 451. 455.
Khosrou or *Nouschirvan*, his reign over Persia and Arabia, ii. 472. Presents which were sent to this celebrated prince, 472, 473.
Khosroes, palace of King, at Modain, ii. 471, 472. His cities captured by the Emperor Trajan, 470.
Kiffree, town of, ii. 135. 145.
Kinneir, Major Macdonald, his observations referred to, ii. 63. 75. 124. 150.
Koach Hassar, town of, i. 309.
Koolmaty, ii. 125, 126.
Koordistan, mountains of, i. 367. 473.—ii. 75. 89. 106.
Koords, the; their robberies and plunderings, i. 300, 301. Their costume, 302. Their position near the deserts, 362. 479. Their women, 304. Their language, 313.
Koords, their villages and camps, i. 299. 303. 351. 357. 416.
Kosa, the water of, ii. 65.
Kufic inscription in high relief, ii. 238. 408.
Kullender Pasha, of Diarbekr, i. 381, 382.
Kark, town of, ii. 118.

L.

Landscape, dreariness of the Arabian, i. 71.
Land of Shinar, i. 465, 466.
Lauristan, the Arabs of, ii. 455.
Lettuces, i. 149. 153.
Library of Mr. Rich, ii. 403.
Lime-stone rocks, i. 356, 357.

Lion, shot, ii. 243. Colossal statue of a lion, at Bagdad, 291.
Literature in Bagdad at a very low ebb, ii. 490.
Lizards, large, i. 247.
Lockett, Captain, ii. 325.
Locust, beautiful, i. 418, 419.
Lovers, singular history of Arabian courtship, and of the severity of Arab manners, i. 38. Affecting dénoûement, 39, 40.
Lucullus, his victory in Mesopotamia, i. 430. 433.
Lycus, the river, ii. 86, 87. 108.

M.

Madain, a city built on the ruined foundations of the ancient Ctesiphon, ii. 471, 472.
Malik Shah, extent of his dominions, i. 131.—ii. 420.
Manners of the eastern nations, i. 36. Superstitious customs and exclusive salutes of Mahometans, 107. At meals, 222. Manners and customs at Bagdad, 491.
Manufactures and commerce of Orfah, i. 139. 145. 148. Of the ancient Ctesiphon, ii. 474.
Map of the environs of Babylon, ii. 446. 471.
Marco Polo, the Venetian, his visit to Mousul, ii. 41. 201.
Mardin, city of; arrival at, i. 311. 315. Church service, 325. Its topography, 333. Historical traditions, 334. 336. Description of, 333. 412.
Marriages of the Christians in Syria, i. 329.
Maseyk, Mr., Dutch Consul at Aleppo, i. 36.
Masonry, specimen of rustic work, i. 60. Mural masonry, 214, 215. —ii. 68. 178. 323. 449. 457.
Masonry of the Kassr, or palace at Babylon, ii. 323.
Matran, venerable, resident in the convent at Mardin, i. 329.
Maundrell's journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, i. 55. 59.
Meals, eastern customs during, i. 186. Hospitality at feasts, 175. 187.
Medrassee el Mostanser, or college of the learned at Bagdad, ii. 434.
Mendeli, the river, ii. 488.
Mesene, island of, betwixt branches of the Euphrates and Tigris, ii. 470.
Mesopotamia, i. 71. 122. 132. 170. 249. 282. 315. 360. 465.—ii. 414.
Mirage, or Seraub of the desert, ii. 231. 313, 314.
Mist, red, of the desert, i. 297.
Mohammedans, Indian, are the most superstitious, i. 85.
Mohammedan resignation, anecdote of a lost cup, i. 281.
Mohammedan fortresses, style of, i. 61.
Mokhoddesy, or pilgrims from Jerusalem, i. 99. 106. 266.
Monies provided for the author's journey, i. 7.
Monolithic temple, of which the monolith is covered with inscriptions, ii. 406.
Moolah, venerable, party collected at his festive board, i. 185. Another Moolah joins the travellers, ii. 141. 143.
Moosh Dag, mountains of, i. 373, 374.
Mosques, of Abraham, at Orfah, i. 109, 110. 189. Of the Vizier at Orfah, 179. Of Mardin, 338. Of Jamah Kirkashoon at Diarbekr, 382. Of Imâm Moosa el Kadem, ii. 232. Description of all those at Bagdad, 181.

Mostanser, Caliph, ii. 414, 415.
Mounds, artificial, i. 13. 17. 236.—ii. 66, 67. 115. At Akkerkoof, 219. Near the Diala river, 441. They are known only by the appellation *Tal*, or hillock, 442.
Mousul, the author arrives at, ii. 19. 69. He visits the Pasha, 21. Description of the town, 27. The bazars, 29. Its churches, 32. Besieged by Saladin, 40. Its commerce and manufactures, 37.
Mousul, Eski, (Old Mousul) in ruins, ii. 13. 17.
Mujellibé, description of the Babylonian, ii. 257. 260. 267. 271. 275. 306. 311. It is the abode of wild beasts, and vulgarly said to be so of evil spirits, 426.
Mules, eastern fable respecting, i. 244, 245.
Murders, at Bagdad, left to the relatives of the slain to avenge, ii. 492.
Musical instruments, drums, &c. i. 100.

N.

Nahum, the prophet, ii. 57.
Naphtha and bitumen, ii. 171. 253. 321. 322.
Nargeels, used to smoke with through water, i. 149. 197.
Nebuchadnezzar, ii. 65. 255. 426.
Necropolis, its presumed site, i. 158.
Nestorians, sect of, i. 128. 340.—ii. 170.
Nimrod, the mighty hunter, i. 124. 430. 465.—ii. 120. 227. 255. 384. 463.
Nimrod's palace at Akkerkoof, called the Kassr Nimrood, ii. 219. 224.
Nineveh, ii. 16, 17. Mounds which mark its site, 49. 51. Its extent greater than that of Babylon, 52. 54. 254. 337. Its high walls, 60.
Ninus, founder of Nineveh, ii. 50. 53. 264.
Nisibeen, antiquity of this city, i. 427. Its situation, 431. 442. Its history, 433. 435. 440.
Nisibeen, river of, i. 431.
Nousehirvan, by the Arabs named Kesra, i. 127.—ii. 472, 473.

O.

Odorneh, river, ii. 149. 151.
Oktereen, villages, remarkable dwellings with domes, i. 12. The khan and ancient castle, 13.
Opis, city of, ii. 152. Its situation, 154.
Orfah, beautiful city of, i. 88. 116. The Mosque of Abraham, 109, 110. The Lake Birket el Ibrahim el Khaleel, 109. 112. 176. This town, the ancient Edessa, is the Ur of the Chaldees, 109. 121. Lake of Zilgah, 112. Its ancient history, 121. 124. Description of Orfah, 135. 155. 214. Population, fifty thousand, 150.
Osmanli Turks residing at Diarbekr, i. 377.

P.

Palace of the Caliphs at Bagdad, ii. 181. 225. Of Khosroes, at Madain, 472.

Papyrus, reeds in layers betwixt the Babylonian courses of brick, ii. 308. 326.
Pasha of three Tails, dependent only on the Ottoman Porte, i. 381.—ii. 35.
Patriarch, Syrian, i. 114. 116. His priests, 115. Their animosity to the Moslems, 118.
Patriarch, Syrian, at Mardin, i. 319, 320.
Persian Ambassador arrives at Bagdad, ii. 482. 485.
Persian Monarchy, interesting particulars relative to Khosrou and some other sovereigns, ii. 471, 472.
Physiognomy of the Turcomans, i. 76; of the Arabs, 76.
Pilgrims, i. 20. 138. 321. 323. Exactions to which they are subject, 270.
Pilgrims, Hindoo, i. 83. 349. Persian pilgrimages to Mecca extremely dangerous to the devotees, ii. 246. 482.
Plants and flowers, extraordinary, i. 246. 308.
Pliny quoted with regard to Babylon, i. 360.—ii. 279. 282. 331. 340. 384.
Pomegranate tree, i. 120. 178. 193.
Poorang village, i. 361. 364. 403.
Prayers at day-break, El Fudjer, ii. 3.
Price of provisions, i. 19.
Primæval Manners, i. 30. 33.
Prospects, rich and extensive scenery, i. 66. 116.
Proverb respecting the Pilgrimage to Mecca, i. 229.—ii. 47.
Provisions, Eastern, i. 148, 149. 186. Of the Desert, 32. 73. 273.
Pyramid of brick, ii. 209. 230. 380.

Q.

Quintus Curtius, inaccuracies of, ii. 281. 293. 319, 320. 343.

R.

Rafts supported by bladders and inflated skins, i. 63.—ii. 81, 82, 83.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, his History of the World, in certain instances obscure, ii. 463, 464.
Ramadan, the venerable Sheikh of Barak, i. 29. 31.
Ramazan, explanation of this fast, ii. 402. 475. Splendour of Bagdad during the nights of the Ramazan, 429.
Rauwolff's Travels, i. 49. 456, 457. 476.—ii. 24. 115. 244. 279. 394.
Rebellion in the territory of the Pasha of Bagdad, ii. 480.
Reed, layers of, betwixt the unburnt bricks of the Babylonian masonry, ii. 219, 220. 308. 325. 449.
Rennel, Major, his authority, ii. 154. 227. 250. 269. 316. 388.
Resen, the city, (of Scripture,) supposition as to its site, i. 466.—ii. 61.
Rich, Mr., Resident at Bagdad, ii. 33. 64. 175, 176. 200. 209, 210. 401. His Memoir of Babylon, 219. 258. 259. 274. 284. 291. 333. 370. 382. 393.
Rich, Mrs., daughter of Sir James Mackintosh, ii. 213. 477.
Road, royal, from Sardis to Susa, ii. 153.
Roman ruins and vestiges at Orfah, i. 157. In the plains of the Hauran, 317. Bridge at Nisibeen, 444. Masonry and arches, 60.—ii. 456.

Romoila, caravan encamps at, ii. 2. 5. 7.
Rousseau, Description du Pachalik de Bagdad, *quoted*, i. 63. 65. 168. 211. 305. 419.—ii. 2. 75.
Ruins, Arabic, i. 309; of magnificent architecture, 310.

S.

Sacy, M. Silvestre de, i. 211.—ii. 471. 475.
Saint Jerome, ii. 312. 332.
Saladin, account of the celebrated, ii. 40.
Samarcand, town of, ii. 488.
Sand, columns of, i. 297.
Sapor's invasion of Mesopotamia, i. 385. 387. 437. 463.
Saracenic arches and architecture, i. 61. 73, 74.—ii. 33. 137. 192.
Sassanides, history of this dynasty, translated by M. Silvestre de Sacy, from the Persian of Mirkhond, i. 424.—ii. 405. 453, 471.
Satan, adoration of the fallen Archangel by the Yezeedis of Mesopotamia, i. 204. 208. 211, 212. 287. 473.
Scandereeah, Khan of, ii. 246. 249.
Scarabæus of Egypt, i. 247. The colossal one of black granite in the British Museum, ii. 410.
Schoolmaster and Sheikh, union of character, i. 180.—ii. 143.
Scripture, quotations from, i. 33. 77. 119. 162. 406. 466.—ii. 56. 226. 255. 257. 278. 300. 375.
Scorpions, i. 247, 248.
Sea-Serpents, i. 446.
Seal of the Caliphs inscribed in Cufic, *Ya Allah*, ii. 408.
Seid Hassan, of Orfah, i. 200. 238. 256.
Seleucus, cities built by him, ii. 311. 460. 465.
Seleucia, mounds and vestiges of this ancient city discoverable near the river Tigris, i. 244. 311. 460. 462. 464.
Selman Pauk, or the Pure, the celebrated Persian barber, ii. 449, 450.
Semiramis, Queen, ii. 50. 255. 262. 264.
Semmetic languages, ii. 385.
Sennaar, or Shinar, land of, its fertility, i. 132. 465.
Sepulchral grottoes, i. 90. 242. 319.
Shahaboor, village of, i. 21, 22.
Shapoor, wars of this monarch, i. 434.—ii. 471.
Shapoor the Second, i. 435.
Sheep-folds, ii. 277.
Sheikhs, account of various, i. 31. 179. 265. 272. 404. 417.—ii. 111, 112.
Shemseeah, sectarians so named, i. 341, 342.
Shereefs, pretended descendants of Mahomet, i. 63. 92. 96. 187. 295. 328.
Shinar, land of, i. 465, 466.
Shoasheef, or Sushoaf, a Koord village, i. 356. 404.
Shooster, pilgrims from, ii. 450, 451.
Shushan, the Palace, its ruins supposed to be extant at Shooster, ii. 454, 455.
Simoom, or Desert wind, ii. 157. 349. 401.
Sinjar, mountain of, i. 288. 419. 449. 461. 466.
Sinjar, or Singara, town of, i. 368. 461. Battle of Singara, 463. Dangerous journey across the plain of Sinjar, ii. 2.
Sitace, the site of, ii. 444, 445, 446.

Sky, brilliant star-light nights in the East, ii. 433, 434. 475.
Sleep at noon, or Siesta, i. 192.
Solomon, tradition respecting King, i. 233. His supposed signet considered in the East as a powerful talisman, ii. 408.
Songs of triumph, i. 25; similar to those of the bards, 26.
Soonnee sect, the, ii. 3.
Soor, village, i. 311. 313.
Southern Desert described, i. 232. 235. 297.
Starlings, black, i. 120. 365.
Statue, Babylonian, seen by Mr. Rich in the Desert, ii. 462.
Stone, curious, denominated Belus' eye, ii. *100.
Storks, their nests, i. 144.—ii. 139.
Suliman accompanies the author, i. 417.—ii. 128. 131. 148. 159.
Sun-flower, i. 308.
Sun-stroke, the author experiences a, ii. 400.
Susa, the palace of, conjectures regarding its remains, ii. 454, 455.
Syren, a beautiful bird so called, ii. 139.
Syria, ii. 92. 414.
Syrians, their religion, i. 119. 150. Christian churches, 311. 321, 322. 341.—ii. 32.

T.

Tacitus, quotation from, i. 26.
Talismans of the East, ii. 408, 409.
Tamar-Aga, chief of some Koords, i. 352. The author's visit to him, 352, 353.
Tanis, in Lower Egypt, ii. 70. 221. 300.
Taook, village of, ii. 124. 150.
Tartars, Constantinopolitan government messengers, i. 81. 332.—ii. 15. 19. 27. 48. 69. 92. 129, 130.
Tatars, Tartars and messengers, i. 369, 370. 415.
Tauk Kesra, the grand and romantic arch of Kesra, ii. 456, 457.
Taurus, mount, its distant prospect, snow-capped, i. 14. 56. 86; its ice, 87, 149. Limestone, its component, 244.
Temple, ancient, i. 443.
Ten thousand, retreat of the, i. 365.—ii. 60. 82. 85. 118.
Tent of Abraham, i. 33, 34.
Thermometer, state of the, i. 85, 86. 236. 307. At Babylon, ii. 4. 140. 214. 250. 305. 349. 401. 449.
Tigris, river, etymon of this name, i. 52. Its course, 300. 360. 365.—ii. 13, 14. 36. 81. 151. 169. 234. 459. 466. Beauty of this fine stream on a starlight night, 433. Ancient sites near its banks, 444.
Tombs of the Mohammedans, i. 44. 90.—ii. 124. Of Arabs, 192. Of a Sheeah martyr, 233. Of Zobeida, 235. 237. 395. Of Selman Pauk, 449. 452. 475.
Tomb of Daniel, at Shooster, ii. 454, 455.
Tortoises, i. 358.
Touz Kourma, village, ii. 149, 150.
Trajan, conquests and decease of the Roman Emperor, i. 462.—ii. 470.
Travelling equipment of the author, i. 6. 267, 268.
Trees in the gardens of Orfah, i. 178. 191. Celebrated tree of the Hanging-Gardens at Babylon, ii. 293, 294.
Tripod, at the tomb of Selman Pauk, ii. 453.

Troglodytes, caves of the, i. 58.
Turcoman villages and encampments, i. 22. 30. 75.
Turcomans, their tents described, i. 8. 27. 30. They attack the caravan, 22. 24. Their customs and position, 27. 30.

U.

Ur of the Chaldees, i. 109. 121. 163.
Uslam Dedde, a lake near the Great Desert, i. 292.

V.

Vigoroux, M., French Consul, i. 4. 213.—ii. 412.
Vincent, Dr., his Dissertation on the Commerce of Arabia, ii. 484, 485.
Vitrification, green, observable on the surface of Babylonian bricks, ii. 457.

W.

Waadi Berman, valley, i. 351.
Waadi Sajoor, a village, i. 25.
Waadi Zennaar, i. 348. 350.
Wahabees, sect of the, their warfare, i. 2. Adventures of one, 83. Camp, 167. Their character, 207. 239. 241. 243.—ii. 483, 484.
Walls of ancient masonry, i. 214, 215.—ii. 178. 323.
Walls, search after the Babylonian, ii. 298. 303. 322.
Water, grateful approach to it, evidenced by the impatience of animals, ii. 8.
Water-melons, plantations of, i. 308.
Wedding-dinner at Sushoaf, i. 405.
Willow-tree, i. 193.
Wigs, antiquity of them evidenced by the coins of the Sassanian monarchs, and by Theban statues, ii. 454.
Wild beasts, ii. 121.
Winds of the Desert, ii. 157. 349.
Women, Eastern, jealous seclusion of them, i. 106.

X.

Xenophon, cited, i. 26; his description of Mesopotamia, 71.—ii. 61. Referred to with regard to the ancient city Sitace, 444. 446.
Xenophon's animated account of the contest betwixt Cyrus the younger, and his brother Artaxerxes, ii. 227.

Y.

Yezeedis, tribe of, i. 204. Their veneration of Satan, 204, 205. 208. 211, 212. 287. 467. 473. Their features, 285. Their towns, 468. 471.—ii. 88. 109.
Yunus, a government Tartar, i. 415.
Yuseff, a Christian merchant of Diarbekr, i. 368. 371. 393.

Z.

Zab, the river (of the ancients), ii. 83, 84. 103. 105. 110. 151, 152.
Zemboor, village of, i. 27.
Zenghi, the first of the Attabegs, i. 130.
Zilgah, lake of, at Orfah, i. 112, 113. 160.
Zobeida, tomb of, at Bagdad, ii. 235. 237. 395.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

PRINTED FOR HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

The HON. CAPTAIN KEPPEL'S PERSONAL NARRATIVE of TRAVELS in BABYLONIA, ASSYRIA, MEDIA, and SCYTHIA. The Second Edition, in 2 vols. 8vo. with a Map and coloured Plates, 24s.

Captain Keppel avoided the usual route of other travellers, and explored many places of which little more than the mere names have hitherto been known. Instead of landing at Bushire, and visiting Shiraz and Ispahan, as is generally the plan of those making an overland journey through Persia, Captain Keppel landed at Bussorah, traversed Irak, Arabia, and entered Persia Proper, at Teheraun, the Capital. Hence to Tabriz, he kept the high road; but this is the only portion of his journey through Asia, that is well known. From Tabriz, travellers generally traverse the Caucasus, and enter Europe by crossing the River Don; but Captain Keppel, after passing through Karabaugh, a beautiful country on the banks of the Araxes, went to Bakoo and along the shore of the Caspian Sea to Astrakhan and thence to Nishney Novogorod, at the time of the grand annual fair. The numbers and strength of the Captain's party enabled him to explore many spots hitherto considered inaccessible. The banks of the Tigris, for example, are so infested by hordes of Arab robbers, that it is exceedingly dangerous to navigate the river without a strong force; but, with this advantage, Captain Keppel was enabled to investigate all the interesting remains of antiquity in this neighbourhood, and on the shores of the Euphrates, including the ruins of Ctesiphon, Babylon, and the supposed site of Paradise.

LETTERS FROM THE EAST. Written during a recent Tour through Turkey, Egypt, Arabia, the Holy Land, Syria and Greece. By JOHN CARNE, Esq. of Queen's College, Cambridge. The Second Edition, in 2 vols. post 8vo. with a coloured Plate. Price 18s.

These volumes are rendered peculiarly valuable by graphic descriptions, written on the spot, of the *present actual state of the places* which have been the theatres of the great events recorded in the Bible. Thus we read of the wild country around Mount Sinai—of the scene of the miraculous passage of the Red Sea—of Mount Carmel—of Jerusalem, with its Mounts of Olives and Calvary, and its valley of Jehosophat—of the Holy Sepulchre—of the Garden of Gethsemane—of Damascus, the most ancient city in the world—of the Cave in which Abraham and Isaac were interred—of the forlorn shores of the Dead Sea—and of other scenes which the inspired Writings have fixed for life in the heart of every Christian.—*New Monthly Magazine, March* 1826.

TRAVELS in GREECE and TURKEY. By F. C. POUQUEVILLE, M. D. Member of the Commission of Arts and Sciences, and French Consul at Joannina. SECOND EDITION. With Engravings of Scenery and Costume, 2*l.* 2s. boards.

"Dr. Pouqueville's volume on the Morea, being collected by himself during a long residence in the country, and being the last account written on the subject, is deserving of every attention."—*Hobhouse's Travels*, p. 218.

TRAVELS in EGYPT, SYRIA, CYPRUS, the MOREA, GREECE, ITALY, &c. &c. in a Series of Letters, interspersed with numerous Personal Anecdotes, by JOHN BRAMSEN, Esq. in company with JOHN MAXWELL, Esq. Second Edition, in 2 vols. 8vo. price 21s.

A PICTURE of GREECE in 1825: as exhibited in the Personal Narratives of JAMES EMERSON, Esq. COUNT PECCHIO, and W. H. HUMPHREYS, Esq. who have lately returned from that Country. In 2 vols. post 8vo. with a Portrait of the Greek Admiral Miaoulis. 18s.

ITALY. By LADY MORGAN. Author of "France," "The Life and Times of Salvator Rosa," &c. In 3 vols. 8vo. price 1*l.* 16s. boards.

"Lady Morgan has given us more information on the actual state of society in Italy at the present moment, than can be found in any of the numerous publications which have made their appearance since the peace."—*New Monthly Magazine.*

"This is not merely a work of opinions expressed in the ornamental style of the writer. It is a substantial account of Italy, and may be consulted for its facts by the historian, the traveller, and the topographer."—*Monthly Magazine.*

FOUR YEARS in FRANCE; or, Narrative of an English Family's Residence there during that Period. With some account of the Conversion of the Author to the Catholic Faith. By a late FELLOW of Magdalen College, Oxford. 8vo. 14s.

"This is an eccentric, but not an ephemeral book. The ordinary purchasers of 'Tours,' 'Six Months,' and 'Journals,' will meet with matter too curious and too good for them. The work is, in fact, a piece of auto-biography. It is indeed composed in the form of a Tour, and there are a journey and a foreign residence narrated in it; but the main object of it is to draw two grand pictures; and though wholly different in their nature, they form together a pair of the finest subjects painted by the skilful hand of a patient artist. The subject of the first picture is the conversion of the author, (a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, a clergyman of the Church of England, and the son and grandson of the prebendaries of Lincoln,) to the Roman Catholic faith; and the other is the early life, character, and death of his son. Perhaps this character is the most beautiful portrait of an angelic youth ever drawn. The details are ample—the hand of affection dwells on every trait, and the genius of a master finishes every stroke."—*Atlas, July* 16.

PRINCE MAXIMILIAN'S TRAVELS in BRAZIL, during the years 1815, 1816, and 1817. Handsomely printed in Quarto, with Maps, and numerous Engravings. Price 2*l.* 2s. boards.

This work will be found to be one of the most important that has yet appeared respecting this interesting, but imperfectly known Country. It may for the present suffice to state, that the Prince has examined the totally unknown regions along the East Coast of Brazil, between the 13th and 23rd degrees of South Latitude, which had not yet been penetrated into by any traveller, with a scientific view, and that with his numerous and important zoological observations, he has connected the most particular and interesting remarks on the nature of the Country, and the manners of the inhabitants.

NARRATIVE of a RESIDENCE in ALGIERS: comprising an Account of the Manners, Amusements, Modes of Living, &c. of the People of Barbary, with Observations on the Climate, Population, Trade, and Productions of the Country, the State of Agriculture, of the Arts, Military and Naval Power, Christian Slavery, Financial and Piratical Systems, &c. By M. PANANTI. With Notes and Illustrations, by EDWARD BLAQUIERE, Esq. R. N. Author of Letters from the Mediterranean, &c. 1 vol. 4to. with coloured plates, price 2*l.* 2s. boards.

"This volume will be found to be an object of particular curiosity, from the minute and lively manner in which it lays open the interior of the Court of the Dey of Algiers. It contains the only complete and authentic Account, by an Eye-witness, which has hitherto appeared of the Manners and Conduct of this Despot and his Ministers, and details such scenes and events as will scarcely seem credible in the eye of an European."